

# Anarchy

90p

**I** sicher  
sozial  
und frei

## Aus Liebe zu Deutschland



ARMED STRUGGLE IN WESTERN EUROPE: Revolu-  
tionary Cells/RAF/Action Directe.  
Plus:  
The Invisible Dictatorship/The Scala File/Jackboots &  
Sporrans/Notes for the Anarchy & Order Brigade/Book  
Reviews/Sniper.



## EDITORIAL

*Anarchy* 38 is here at last! Lack of funds, time, and people (plus our heavy commitment to the miners' strike, and an assortment of production disasters) have kept us out of print for... well let's just skip over for how long! In the interval, we have brought out *Black Papers* No.1: Stefano delle Chiaie – Portrait of a 'Black' Terrorist, by Stuart Christie (£4.50, direct from us).

Both the book, and our efforts so far in the direction of establishing an anarchist journalism which is trying to break-free from tired old formulas, have met with an encouraging response. But we are not in the business of promoting an 'alternative' consumerism. The only justification of an anarchist publishing venture is to stimulate people to act in the cause of their own liberation, and to do so more effectively by virtue of being better informed. It is precisely the unity of ideas and action which is so vital to the process of reconstructing a fighting revolutionary movement, that leaves no room for misunderstanding or parody.

*Anarchy* deliberately does not dwell in the past, or devote its main efforts towards chronicling the greater glories of anarchist history. Careful study of history, and of the attempts by past generations of revolutionaries to change society, is an important project but one best tackled elsewhere in our movement. In this respect, we highly recommend the initiative taken by *Refract Publications* with the recent launching of *The Anarchist Encyclopaedia*\*. But at the same time, we cannot let the passing of 1985 go by without saluting the 75th anniversary of our sister organisation in Spain, the CNT (*Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo*, formed in 1910). It is the CNT (who's birth was the culmination of 40 years intense activity and propaganda by the Spanish anarchists since the days of the First International, under the influence of the anti-statist ideas of Michael Bakunin), which has provided us, better than anything else, with a living example of our ideas put into action. And for all the past faults (apparent to us now with the benefit of hindsight), and present causes for hot debate within our ranks, it is the CNT which today remains the single best example of a viable libertarian workers organisation. The union today is under intense pressure, and forced to expend energy once again upon defending itself from attack, aware (as in the Scala case, see p.4) that the state will go to any lengths to combat an organisation that does not accept the con-trick of bourgeois democracy or consensus politics. Though it appears popular these days within the anarchist movement to decry the efforts of the CNT (and its

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sister sections of the *International Workers Association* - AIT/IWA - around the world) at injecting the workers movement  
with a libertarian model of organisation and struggle, we will continue to defend the CNT/AIT against all-comers. And we look  
forward to an increase in its influence as a fitting tribute to the heroic efforts of the past.

We are now confronted with a period of open reaction, the duration of which we cannot predict. Fueled by the overproduct-  
ion inherent in capitalist economics, and the drive towards an ever-repressive stabilisation of imperialism on a global level  
(mobilised around the war plans of NATO), there appears now an intensification of the class struggle waged from the top  
downwards. This is manifested in an industrial restructuring in which thousands are thrown out of work, or shuffled away from  
the large centres of organised labour into small, 'hi-tech', non-unionised units, that destroy both the traditional basis of 'craft  
unionism', and step-up the surveillance and work-regulation of the 'lucky' few glad to hang onto their jobs at all costs. The aim  
is simple: the complete destruction of class solidarity at base. 'Isolate and destroy' is the tactical means. In this situation, we  
can only fight back and move towards revolution by working to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between all those who  
struggle against imperialism, capital, and the state.

That anarchists managed to win a certain degree of respect and credibility from miners and their supporters, during the  
recent strike against pit-closures in England, is the result of a willingness to engage in a common fight without demanding  
ideological conditions, or attempting to engage in the sort of political manipulation practised by so much of the 'revolution-  
ary' left. For Anarchism to be made real, it must not only affirm its anti-statism as a principle, but accompany that criticism  
with the practise of permanent rebellion.

Anarchy Collective.

\*The Anarchist Encyclopaedia (ISSN0267-6141), Monograph 1, is now available from Refract Publications (80pp. Individual  
copy £2.00, inc. p+p.) c/o Cambridge Free Press, Unit 6, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge CB1 2IG.

# THE INVISIBLE DICTATORSHIP



## Revolutionary Organisation and Objectives

In Britain, something like 40% of the working class as a whole, and an estimated 60% of the unskilled and unemployed working class do not vote at all. In local elections the figures rise dramatically until frequently only a minority bother to vote in solid working class districts. This refusal to participate in the 'democratic' fraud is labelled 'apathetic' by middle class commentators of left and right rather than a positive rejection of false alternatives. And yet, despite the physical expressions of revolt by the most alienated sections of the working class in recent years, it remains unable to effectively challenge the dominant class.

Because of the lack of continuity in the revolutionary movement, each new generation of the working class repeats the errors of the old; where working class solidarity is continually reduced to defence of the unions and support for 'untainted' left-socialism - in the '30's, '40's and '60's significant (and on occasions, majority) sections of the working class placed their future in the hands of the Labour Party - which inevitably results in feelings of betrayal and disillusion when their 'socialist leaders' defend capitalism against the interests of the working class.

It is the failure of the revolutionary movement that the lessons of history have not been driven home and the only solution to bourgeois domination been understood and *only* properly explained: that the working class must organise - as a class, and not fragmented interest groups - in *total* opposition to bourgeois interests and organisations which exist only to perpetuate the capitalist system and their own class privileges.

For all the theoretical Anarchist writings of the last 100 years or so, except for specific periods of social upheaval (where necessity dictates the course of action) we have never been able to sustain an overall strategic campaign against capitalism and the state. We rush here and there, filling in gaps in the ideological dyke; reacting to each bourgeois attack rather than developing the critique of bourgeois society as a whole, and challenging it as a class!

The frequently perceived clash of interests between different groups of workers (skilled-unskilled, men-women, black-white) or single issue campaigns (nuclear weapons, ecology, etc.) become topically all-embracing as *the* forum of struggle

for a year or two, supported by the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie for whom any division within the ranks of the proletariat is wholeheartedly endorsed and encouraged.

To debate, and attempt to oppose, in isolation, the quite obvious fact that black workers are often in *worse* housing than white workers, or that women workers suffer a higher rate of exploitation than male workers is for revolutionaries a pointless exercise, for our object is to destroy capitalism and not reform the (perhaps) more glaring iniquities. This is not to deny that we should constantly struggle to improve our conditions, but not to construct an ideology around a specific example of capitalist oppression.

Historically, anarchist influence within the class has been strengthened by a recognition of its uncompromising class antagonism towards the bourgeoisie and their collaborators, coupled with courageous resistance to all oppression; it is time these qualities were re-kindled in the consciousness of the working class. It can be no coincidence that our influence has waned parallel to the upsurge of militant liberalism masquerading as anarchism. To many people, anarchism has become synonymous with a myriad of crank causes from 'pacifism' to 'animal liberation'. Our primary function as propagandists and resistance fighters has been obscured in the welter of self-righteous and patronising garbage epitomised by *Freedom* or the irrelevant self-indulgence of the various 'anarchist' punk papers and magazines.

Anarchists are not disciples of some obscure religious sect waiting for the second coming, nor are we a monastic order weeping amidst the phillistines; our role is not to be a moral elite waiting for some reaction from the 'masses', but an active movement *within* the class providing the base for an autonomous working class organised along anarchist principles. "...(*the role/object*)...must be not to create an artificial force outside the people, but to arouse, unite and organise spontaneous popular forces..." (Bakunin: Letter to Nechaev, 1870). To achieve this goal of being an active and influential movement we must organise on a nation-wide and coherent basis or be reconciled to being an ineffectual collection of individuals and tiny groups. No organisational form can be *imposed* on the revolutionary anarchist movement, but it is becoming increasingly obvious that *some* kind of national organisation capable of instigating and co-ordinating resistance to capital's



attacks on the working class is essential.

Previous attempts to organise nationally have foundered because of a lack of clarity of what constitutes a viable organising base and confusion about collective objectives. Attempts to reconcile revolutionary class struggle anarchism with groups and individuals whose analysis of capitalism is seriously flawed, and whose aims are *fundamentally* in opposition to our own, (despite their description of themselves as some variation of anarchist) have resulted in pointless dialogue with uncommitted and reformist elements, as well as the inevitable dilution within the organisation. It is time to reject the worse than useless alliances with pacifists, ecologists, feminists, and all the other variations of militant liberalism as the diversive mystifications that they are.

On the other hand, previous class-struggle organisations have failed because of a steady drift towards neo-Trotskyist centralism with a party line dressed up as 'aims and principles' (typified by the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists - O.R.A. and Anarchist Workers Association - A.W.A. in the 1970's).

A national anarchist organisation can declare no 'correct path' for social revolution, it cannot be a single group with a holy writ of 'aims and principles' etched in stone tablets, but a *federation* of fully autonomous groups and individuals freely grouped around the *single* aim of promoting unity of action and mutual aid in the struggle — an organisation capable of guiding and supporting *all* activities pursued by revolutionary anarchists thus federated. Composed of the most conscientious revolutionaries, its tasks will not be to seize power or assume a vanguard role, but to prevent others from doing so; whilst providing a *secure* forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences, not as an end in itself, but to translate these ideas and experiences into nation-wide action.

"...We are the most pronounced enemies of every sort of official power — even if it is an ultra-revolutionary power. We are the enemies of any sort of publically declared dictatorship, we are social revolutionary Anarchists. But, you will ask, if we are anarchists, by what right do we want to influence the people, and what methods will we use? Disowning all power with what sort of power, or rather by what sort of force, shall we direct a peoples' revolution?"

By a force that is invisible, that admits and that is not on anyone, by the collective dictatorship of our organisation which will be all the greater the more it remains unseen and undeclared, the more it is deprived of all rights and significance...in the middle of this universal anarchy...a secret organisation, dispersing its members in small groups...but nevertheless firmly united and inspired with a single idea, a single aim, applicable everywhere in different ways according to the circumstances, of course, and acting along the same lines...expressing the very essence of popular instincts, desires and demands in their clear and conscious aims among a crowd of people who would be struggling without any purpose or plan..." (Bakunin: Ibid).

The effectiveness of any national organisation will depend on various conditions:

- A common understanding of the nature of the enemy.
- Speedy and secure contact among federated groups.
- Mutual trust and solidarity.
- A recognition among federated groups and individuals that we are *never* hampered by considerations of bourgeois legality and that *all* effective action against the ruling class will sooner or later become illegal.
- Although the basis of federation will be the recognition that an autonomous working class is the only class capable ultimately, with the will, to carry out the social revolution, resistance may take many forms, from industrial struggle, to rioting and armed resistance depending on the circumstances. Federated members must support the *validity* of all forms of resistance.

Liberal democracy is primarily an exercise in illusion. Repression is minimal because it is largely unnecessary, the capitalist class relies on convincing the exploited class that things are very much as 'nature' intended. Any radical deviation would of course be lunacy.

This ideology is largely successful during periods of capitalist booms while the alienation and powerlessness of the majority of the population is offset by increased financial security (although it is interesting to note, that the financially secure years of the '50's and '60's, saw the explosion of strikes and stoppages over, seemingly, trivial issues — the so-called 'bloody-mindedness' of the British workforce!—) as an attempt to relieve the boredom and alienation of their labour and to effect *some* control over their lives.

In periods of recession, although fear — of unemployment, sickness, etc., — appears to pacify the working class, the illusion fades and the reality of the conflict between exploiter and exploited becomes more difficult to disguise. Parliamentary democracy is discredited, while the so-called 'workers organisations', (the trade unions) are shown in their true corporate role as managers of the labour force.

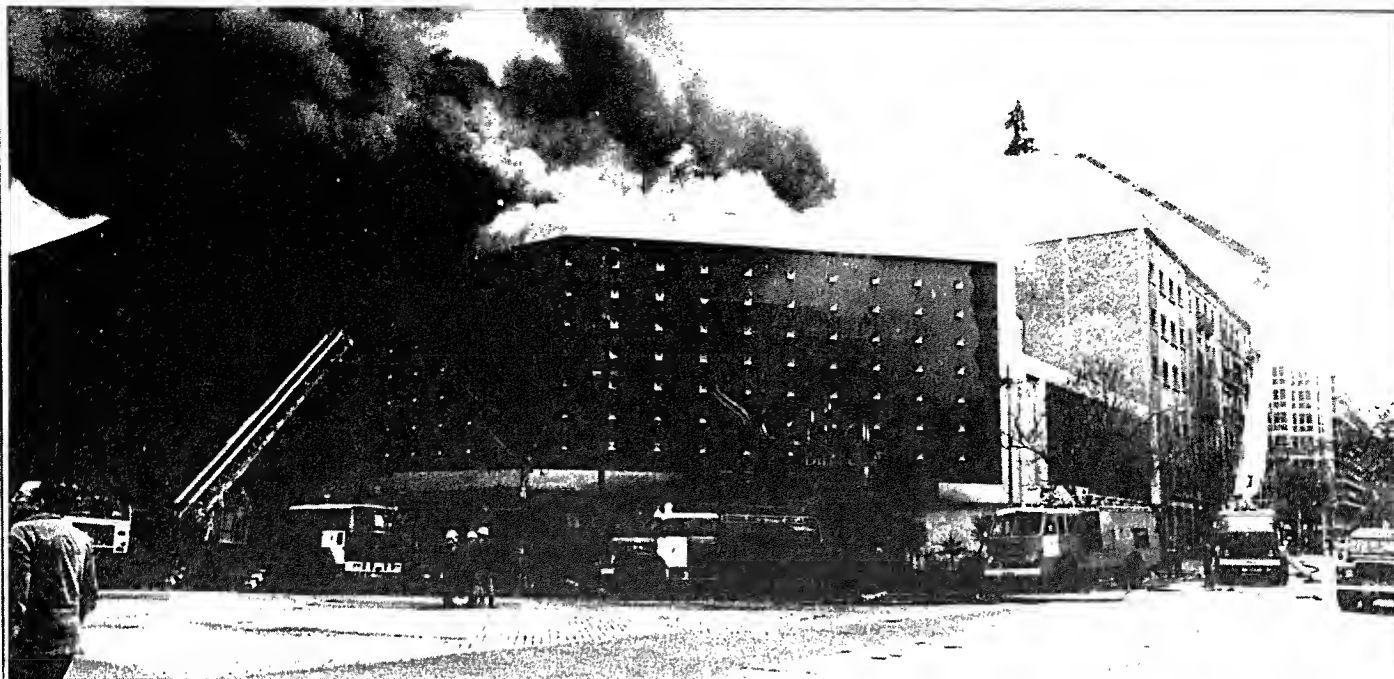
Now, more than any other time since the war, the conditions exist to precipitate a loss of control by the bourgeoisie. If the anarchist movement is to exploit these conditions and become an important influence on an insurgent working class, we must cease behaving like dilettantes, and playing at being revolutionaries. It is not enough to *campaign* (like some charitable pressure group) on abstract principles. The anarchist movement must be *involved* in every facet of the struggle of the working class; not as participants in events beyond our control, but as an organised nuclei of the working class. We must demonstrate our ability and determination to win, to lead by example. Our actions and propaganda should be a co-ordinated attack on capitalism and its institutions. We cannot do this while we remain a haphazard collection of groups and individuals, united in name only.

Ozymandias



# THE SCALA FILE:

## A CASE HISTORY OF STATE PROVOCATION



15 January, 1978: the Scala nightclub ablaze in Barcelona's Paseo de San Juan.

*"The CNT has at all times called for investigations to focus on the instigators, believing these to be agents of the intelligence services and the state concerned to bring discredit upon the CNT at a time when it was spearheading opposition to the Moncloa Pact (Spain's Social Contract)."*

(Solidaridad Obrera)

*"The CNT reaffirms its claims that the Scala case was the brainchild of the Interior Ministry, concocted by the police and put into effect through the good offices of a police infiltrator/nark, Joaquin Gambin. Only an expose of all this implies could truly be considered worth of investigation."*

(Ibid.)

*"How can I (who was coerced into co-operating in a mission) be brought to trial without my superiors revealing the mission with which I had been entrusted?"*

(Joaquin Gambin Hernandez, CAMBIO 16: 19.12.83).

### The Act

At 1.15 p.m. on 15 January, 1978, shortly after a 10,000 strong CNT demonstration against the Moncloa labour agreements elsewhere in the city, several 'persons unknown' hurled molotov cocktails into the Scala nightclub in Barcelona's Paseo de San Juan. Four workers engaged in maintenance work in the club at the time were killed in the attack. Two of the dead, Ramon Egea and Diego Montero, belonged to the Socialist union UGT. The others, Juan Manuel Lopez and Bernabe Bravo Betarano, were members of the Anarchist union CNT, which had been demonstrating in the city that day. 75% of the nightclub's staff belonged to the CNT.

The police immediately announced that the attack had been carried out by a Commando composed of eight members of the CNT, FAI, and Anarchist Youth (FIJL). Within 12 hours of the fire-bombing, 150 libertarians had been arrested, and eight members of the CNT were named as being responsible for the attack on the Scala. Four of those named (Jose

Cuevos Carado, Luis Munoz Garcia, Arturo Palma Segua and Francirco Javier Caradas Garcon) had been amongst the first to be arrested. They would later be sentenced to a total of 52½ years in prison for the attack. Four more had managed to evade arrest and were declared in contempt of court, and were ordered to be tracked down and taken into custody. Three of them, Gonzalez Garcia, Martinez Perez, and Fortiz Gil succeeded in slipping out of the country into exile in Italy and France. Only the fourth, Joaquin Gambin Hernandez, remained within reach of the police. He was not arrested.

The arrests were the work of police Inspector Jose Maria Escuerdo Tejada, head of the Anti-Anarchist Squad of the Central Information Brigade in Madrid, with 18 years on the force. Escuerdo had flown to Barcelona within hours of the attack, to pull off the much publicised coup of getting the alleged perpetrators to confess in record time. What hardly anyone knew at the time was that his success was due to the shadowy work of an informer... Joaquin Gambin.

### Why The CNT Was Blamed

The huge anarchist protest in Barcelona on the day of the Scala attack was the CNT's first public demonstration since being made legal as a union organisation. It had stubbornly persisted in clandestinity as the main source of anarchist resistance to Franco's military dictatorship since being outlawed at the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939. Despite a savage repression aimed at breaking the organised workers' movement, the CNT survived as an anarcho-sindicalist union, emerging as though "from the catacombs" (as the Times put it) after Franco's death in 1976, to the amazement of journalists and historians the world over, who for years had written off the anarchist movement in Spain as long since 'dead'. The CNT was the last union organisation to be legally recognised by Spain's new 'democracy', and in the first flush of joyful enthusiasm following Franco's death, swelled as an organisation to 300,000 members. By the time of the Scala attack, it was once again perceived by the Government as the one

serious *revolutionary* threat to political stability in Spain; the *only* union which publicly opposed the consensus politics and anti-labour laws of the new democracy, which (like Franco before them) sought to incorporate the trade unions into the structure of the state, as agencies for managing the work-force and maintaining industrial peace.

The then Interior Minister, Rudolfo Martin Villa, frequently announced in public that the real threat to stability in Spain came not from "ETA and its bombs", but "*the Confederal union card*" of the CNT. After the Scala attack, he was unable to conceal his delight. Never having made a secret of his concern over the growing influence of the CNT, he stated at a press conference on 31 January, 1978, when the police had already named the alleged arsonists, "...*this act by anarchist groups in Barcelona is of especial concern to me because they have always had a disturbing effect upon peaceful co-existence.*" The Scala outrage was the ideal opportunity for the Spanish Government to dismiss the intransigent anarchist union as being a collection of 'terrorists', and thus criminalise its opposition to the Moncloa Pact.

On 3 December, 1981, the grins must have frozen on the faces of Martin Villa and police Inspector Escuerdo. Joaquin Gambin was arrested by police after a brief gunfight in Valencia railway station, when a routine police check disturbed him in the act of trafficking in arms. Once in custody he tried to buy his freedom by threatening to produce documentary proof of his status as an informer for the intelligence services. The CNT's contention that Gambin was a paid police provocateur, and the real author of the Scala attack, suddenly gained public credibility.

But Gambin, 'Public Enemy No.1', the missing link in the Scala case, failed to carry out his threat. For the next two years his mouth remained shut as he sat in Alicante prison waiting for his words to result, as they had done in the past, in his protectors inside the Anti-Anarchist Squad coming to his rescue once again. Gambin's luck had finally run out. He had become too big a liability now even for Escuerdo. When, in December 1983, the penny finally dropped that his former employers had really cut him adrift, he finally began to give his own version of the Scala affair, and his career as a paid police agent, to the Spanish news magazine *Cambio 16* just a week before he was due to step into the dock and go on trial.

#### The Scala Provocateur

Joaquin Gambin Hernandez, alias '*El Grillo*' (the Cricket), alias '*Cesar*' (55), was first arrested at the age of 17. By the time he left prison in 1977 he had spent 28 years of his life at one time or another behind bars. On several occasions he took part in failed escape attempts whilst in prison, but strangely — despite establishing a name for himself with the press and inside the jails as a 'legendary' escaper — he was never punished for these supposed bids for freedom. Whilst in Barcelona's Modelo prison in 1977, he had met anarchist prisoners. Amongst them were Jose Cuevas and several other comrades who had been arrested in one of the regular police operations against the CNT and the libertarian movement in Catalonia.

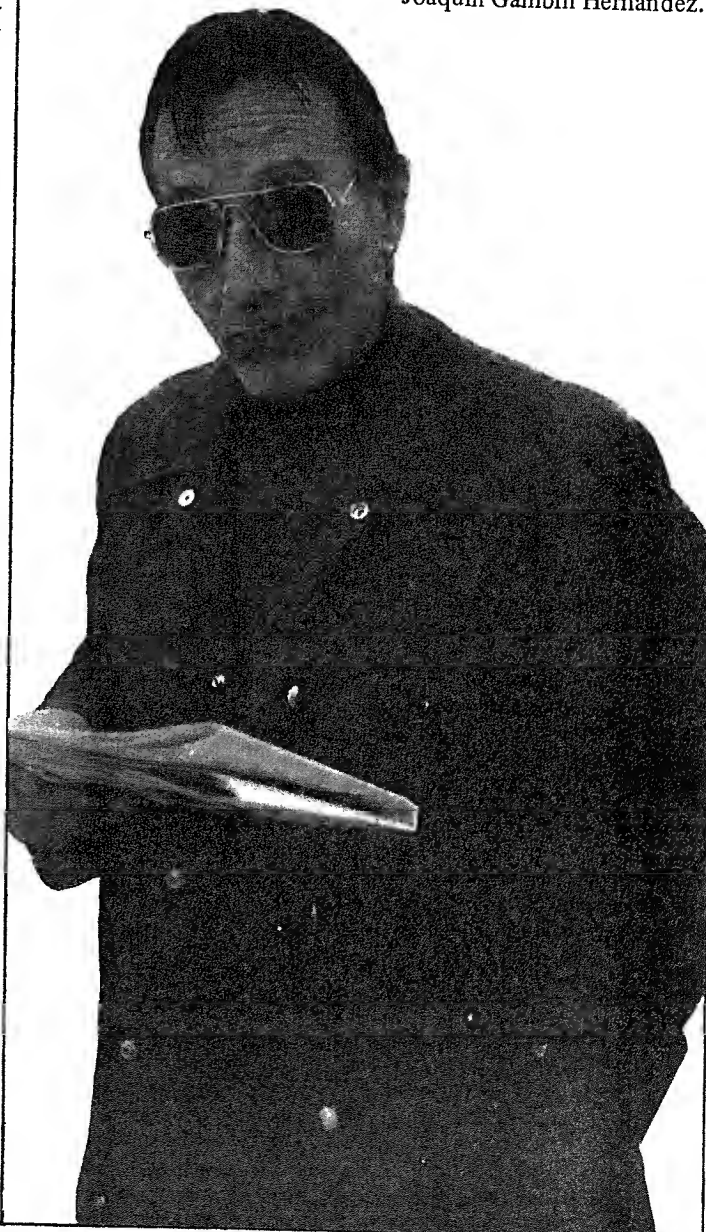
Gambin finished his sentence and was released, returning to his home town of Murcia. There he claims, he was approached by a police officer, Jose 'Pepe' Marin (a former Inspector with the Social Brigade, Spain's Special Branch) and offered a simple choice, "*Either you co-operate with us*", Marin told the ex-Con, "*or we won't leave you in peace*". In his interviews with *Cambio 16*, Gambin explained, "*I had no way out. Naturally I preferred co-operation with the police to going back to jail and rot*". A week later he claims he was introduced by Marin to Inspector Escuerdo (control No. A-1260-GO-7553), head of the Anti-Anarchist Squad in the Central Information Brigade, and Escuerdo gave him 30,000 pesetas for his services and the code name '*Cesar*' under which he would work, and instructed him to infiltrate anarchist

circles in Catalonia, where he was to set up spectacular actions for the greater glory of his police handlers.

Around this time, in 1977, Gambin first applied to join the CNT in Murcia but was fobbed off by the organisation. Later he was admitted, despite suspicions that he was untrustworthy. Capitalising on the contacts he had made in prison, he followed Escuerdo's instructions and moved to Barcelona, where on 10 January, 1978, he turned up unannounced at the front door of Jose Cuevas, asking to be put up. There he met other anarchists; friends of Cuevas. Jose Cuevas and his friends were later the first to be arrested after Gambin staged the Scala bombing — Cuevas being picked up at an address known only to himself and Gambin. "*For that information*", Gambin told *Cambio 16*, "*they gave me 100,000 pesetas as a special reward. They promised me the moon and stars but later I never saw a single peseta.*"

Some weeks after the Scala attack, when he was publicly being named as one of the authors of the outrage, and in theory wanted by the police, Gambin was summoned to Madrid to meet his police handlers. The Anti-Anarchist Squad had come under severe criticism for not managing to avert the bombing of the Scala that they themselves had conceived and commissioned! Gambin was informed that the police record had to be cleaned up — a new coup against the anarchists was needed to redeem their image.

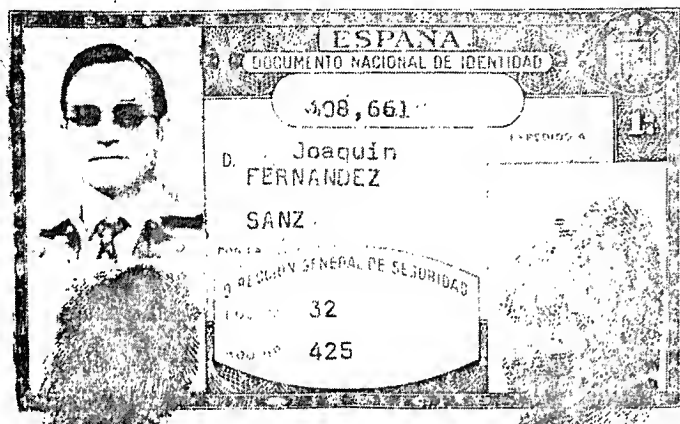
Joaquin Gambin Hernandez.





## Betrayer of the ERAT

A group of anarchist workers at the SEAT car factory in Barcelona had for some time been sustaining a pocket of resistance in the labour struggle going on at SEAT through armed expropriations. The group called itself ERAT, or *Workers' Revolutionary Support Army*. Gambin's new job for the police was to try and infiltrate the ERAT. A few days after his visit to the Anti-Anarchist Squad, Gambin was visited at Madrid's Cordoba boarding house by Inspector Escuerdo to work out the details of the plan of attack against the ERAT. Escuerdo paid Gambin 20,000 pesetas for expenses, finger-printed him and asked him for some photographs. A few hours later one of Escuerdo's men brought Gambin a brand new phoney police identity card with his picture and finger prints on it in the name of Joaquin Fernandez Sanz'.



(Above) The Police identity card issued to Gambin.

Escuerdo instructed Gambin, according to his revelations to *Cambio 16*, in every detail. Things were arranged so that he would come into contact with Juan 'El Barbas', Gabriel Botifoll, and an office worker called Carlos, whom the police suspected of being the founders of ERAT.

Passing himself off to the militants of ERAT as a member of GRAPO, Gambin wormed his way into the group, and participated (with police knowledge) in a hold-up of the Catalesa supermarket. He is also thought to have taken part in several more hold-ups at business and commercial undertakings carried out by ERAT.

Around this time rumours began to circulate in CNT circles that Gambin was a police infiltrator and provocateur whose task was to discredit the anarchist union. Inspector Escuerdo came to Barcelona and advised Gambin to carry a gun in his belt for personal safety. Gambin took the hint and became a walking arsenal. In April, 1978, Escuerdo returned to Barcelona to give Gambin last minute instructions. It was the eve of the police round-up of ERAT. Lest the magistrates might free some of the suspects for lack of evidence, Gambin was to plant a pistol and some money under the bed of Gabriel Botifoll, (1) whom the police would portray as the head of ERAT. In his typical self-pitying style, Gambin later complained to *Cambio 16*, "The 'bread', some 40,000 pesetas of it, I had to take out of my own pocket."

The round-up of the ERAT, coming on top of the Scala arrests, confirmed the suspicions of the anarchists in Catalonia beyond any doubt. A few days after the arrests of Gabriel Botifoll and the other alleged members of ERAT, the CNT circulated leaflets denouncing the 'police provocateur', and 'police nark', who was trying to apply the brake to the expansion of the libertarian movement. Compromised now in the eyes of the anarchists, and also wanted by the Spanish courts still for his involvement in the Scala outrage, Gambin forced a meeting with his police controllers. He was summoned to a rendezvous in the La Paloma cafe, opposite the DGS building in Madrid's Puerto del Sol. There, Escuerdo and his boss

Manuel Gomez de Sandoval, suggested that Gambin drop out of sight for a while. On a reference from Sandoval, Gambin found work at the start of the summer of 1978 in the Perret brothers pastry shop in Benicasim (Castellon).

## 'Dirty-War' Against the ETA

Meanwhile, the magistrate handling the Scala case had, faced with Gambin's absence, declared him in contempt and issued a warrant for his arrest. Once again the fugitive spy turned to Escuerdo for help. Escuerdo's advice "struck me as madness", Gambin told *Cambio 16*. "They wanted me to go to the Basque country along with three other guys, to kill ETA members. But I sensed that this was a ploy to dispose of me and I made up my mind to get offside." From then on, he claims, the attitude of the Perret brothers (who were themselves deeply involved in the 'dirty war' against the ETA as agents of the police, as well as being closely tied to the Mafia) towards him changed for the worst. Despite Gambin's protestations of innocence, however, he did not reject this "madness" of Escuerdo quite so out of hand as his self-righteous interviews with *Cambi 16* suggest. Evidence exists that he and the Perret brothers were involved together in at least one armed attack on ETA supporters. The attack, on a bar in Hendayes in the South of France on 28 November, 1980, left two people dead and over 20 wounded. Clement and Gilbert Perret, certainly, were later to be bamed by French police as wanted for this attack, amongst a series carried out in France against the ETA.

"One day after Escuerdo was to phone me so that I could report to him everything that Clement and Gilbert had done", he told *Cambio 16*, "and about their connections with the (special) services a group of male and female police turned up at the pastry shop armed to the teeth. They were led by Antonio Gonzalez Pacheco, alias 'Billy el Nino' (Billy the Kid) who was wearing a track suit and never let go of a tennis bag in which he carried a machine gun." Gambin later discovered that the arrival of the police at the establishment had been for the purpose of protecting Clement and Gilbert Perret. There had been a tip-off that armed ETA groups were in the area, intent of disposing of them.

This was probably the real event that decided Gambin to decamp. "I asked them to pay me off and found, to my surprise that they did so without demur and, indeed, with a generosity. Hours later, when I tried to change a 1,000 peseta note to buy a beer I found that the notes were even phonier than the Perret brothers themselves. The same thing went for the 100 Franc notes they had given to me on the pretext that they had not got Spanish currency just then." What Gambin never found out, according to *Cambio 16*, was that the money with which the Mafiosi brothers Clement and Gilbert Perret paid him off so generously was part of a batch of 600 million counterfeit pesetas handed over in 1971 to "entrepreneurs" in Marseilles by Jose Miguel Benaran Ordenana (alias 'Argala'), a member of the ETA executive!

## Obituaries and Arrests

Now out of pocket, with the anarchists reportedly on his trail and a warrant for his arrest hanging over his head, Gambin looked for a way out of his dilemma. News reached him of the death of an uncle, Joaquin Gambin Gonzalez (82). The informer was quick to seize on the opportunity to pass off the death as his own. On 5 March, 1979, Murcia's newspaper *Hoja de Lunes* carried an obituary notice asking for prayers for the soul of the deceased. However, the notice was adroitly manipulated to give the impression that the deceased had been that of the informer and spy Gambin. Members of the CNT who attended the funeral appeared to take the bait. Gambin was believed dead. From a hill top near the El Espinardo cemetery, the 'deceased' quietly watched his own funeral,



thinking himself safe. *"It was what I had always wanted"*, Gambin recalled for *Cambio 16*, *"to fade away leaving no trace."*

The next day Gambin withdrew all his savings and visited a cosmetic surgeon to undergo surgery to his nose and face, and change his appearance. Then, as *Cambio 16* enigmatically put it, *"availing of the connections he still had in certain political circles"*, he obtained a false identity card in the name of 'Manuel Garcia Gomez'. In May he travelled to Valladolid, then to Pamplona, Verona, and Madrid...then back to Barcelona and Seville.

On 27 October, Gambin tried to embezzle money from the Elche Branch of the Banco Exterior de Espana but was caught by the police in possession of a revolver and phoney papers, and his real identity discovered. As soon as he reached the prison he sent off two telegrams: one to Jose Maria Escuerdo at the Fraud Squad of the Bank of Spain, and the other to Manuel Gomez de Sandoval, head of the Central Information Brigade. The effect was miraculous. Weeks later the order for his arrest for terrorism was cancelled, as was the charge of defrauding the Bank of Spain, and he was released on a surety of 50,000 pesetas.

Gambin now supervised his own funeral for a second time. On 24 July, 1980, the Basque newspaper *Egin* carried an item distributed by the Efe News Agency in Catalonia, reporting that an 'Autonomous Libertarian Commando' had executed Joaquin Hernandez, alias 'El Grillo', in the South of France. *"We killed him for a provocateur and a police nark"*, said the communique published in the pro-ETA *Egin*, *"and for implicating revolutionary workers' organisations in police frame-ups like the Scala case."*

Gambin admitted to *Cambio 16*, *"The item, which the press carried at that time was supplied to the Efe agency by myself, capitalising upon a trip to Andorra, where I was spotted by*

*some old acquaintances from the CNT"*.

Nothing more was heard of Gambin following his second 'death' until 3 December, 1981, when he was stopped by the police in Valencia railway station on suspicion of trafficking in arms. He did not give up quietly and was wounded in the back near the spine, and in the ankle before being arrested. Police found he was carrying no less than five hand-guns! Gambin was back in prison, but it was only after *Cambio 16*, which had spent some months investigating the Scala case, discovered that the informer was still alive, and was the same man as arrested in the Valencia railway station shoot-out, that the authorities publicly acknowledged the identity of the man they had arrested as Gambin, the wanted Scala bomber. Once again, Gambin began firing-off letters and telegrams to his former protectors in the police, threatening to reveal his collaboration with the Anti-Anarchist Squad, backed up by a file of documentary evidence of his secret service: telegrams, counterfeit money, photographs, phoney national identity papers, and other papers supplied to him by the police. But this time his threats fell on deaf ears.

From his self-imposed maximum security cell in Barcelona's Modelo prison, Gambin explained his decision to finally talk on the eve of his overdue trial for participation in the Scala attack:

**Cambio 16:** *"Why have you decided to talk after so many years?"*

Gambin: *"Because they have washed their hands of me. For the past 59 months I clung to the hope that the police bosses who signed me up would get me out of this jam. It is not in their interests to turn their backs on me. So, for these five years of bumming around, constantly on the move from one spot to another like a beast at bay, I lived with the fixation that in the end the cops Escuerdo and Sandoval would come to my aid. But when I was arrested in Valencia and found that*

Gambin (right) with the Perret brothers. Gilbert Perret has since been executed by ETA.



*nobody was answering my letters and telegrams, the bubble burst. I am not about to take the rap for murder. Joaquín Gambin Hernandez's hands are not stained with blood."*

**Cambio 16:** "Why did you ask for a top-security cell?"

**Gambin:** "Because they want me dead. They've put a price on my head. I am under threat on every side. To the anarchists I am a monstrous nark, the Scala "provocateur" and the Mafia wants to stop my mouth lest I squeal about the police's dirty linen. But what hunger failed to do over a 30 year period will not be managed by a group of anarchists or four cops either. Either I talk or I peg out."



**Joaquín Gambin Hernández**

### The End Of The Road

The second Scala trial opened amid tight security in December, 1983. In answer to a call by the CNT, about 100 members of the union gathered outside the Palace of Justice in Barcelona, despite police harrassment, carrying placards reading, "schemes against the CNT are being hatched in the Ministry of the Interior. The Scala case is a police frame-up."

Giving evidence, Gambin claimed in his defence "...I had been charged by the police to keep an eye on the anarchist groups in Barcelona."

Jose Cuevas, one of those who had been railroaded in the first trial on the basis of Gambin's information to the Anti-Anarchist Squad, was brought from his prison cell to give evidence for the prosecution. Despite repeated attempts from the bench to silence him he stated to the court, "Gambin arrived at my home with two suitcases and a satchel and told me that he was a commercial traveller for a firm selling industrial parts for fridges. In the tan satchel, he was carrying a queer device which he told me was a sample he used in his work. He also offered me a .38 revolver which I refused because I had no need of any gun."

"When the police arrested me, they showed me the .38 and the tan satchel as well as a sketch of the device inside in order to give me to understand their connection with Gambin. On the sketch was written 'Scala, army material'. Those items were never seen again. How come?"

"I have been sentenced to 17 years on the strength of a statement signed under torture, in the absence of all proof. The courts had no desire to investigate..."

(Solidaridad Obrera, January 1984).

The phoney national identity card issued in the name of 'Joaquín Fernandez Sanz', plus postal receipts and certificates

addressed to the police commissioner, were also introduced in court as evidence of Gambin having been in the pay of the police.

Gambin was found guilty of charges of manufacturing explosives and attending a demonstration whilst bearing arms, and sentenced to seven years in prison, despite the fact that the prosecution had asked that he be sentenced to 16 years. Shortly after the verdict, Gambin told *Cambio 16*, "I'm completely flummoxed. The police forced me to work among the terrorist groups on their behalf. They told me I had to play along so as not to arouse suspicions, and now they're putting me away for having done what they asked."

**Solidaridad Obrera** commented: "This 'little angel' who boasts 32 guilty verdicts, not counting the one which concerns us here, has confessed to being a paid police informer with phoney documents issued through official channels and that he infiltrated Catalan anarchist groups whose break-up he contrived back in 1977; after the Scala episode — still not cleared up, even after two trials — he vanished, only to reappear some months later as infiltrator and betrayer of the ERAT, for which he admits to having been paid a sum of 20,000 pesetas by the Anti-Anarchist Squad Inspector, Jose Maria Escuerdo Tejedo."

Solidaridad Obrera, January 1984)

### CNT Issues Writ Against The Police

In January 1984 *Solidaridad Obrera* announced: "The General Secretary of the CNT in Catalonia announced in a recent press conference (23 December, 1983) the union's intention to issue a writ against the police, on the basis that the finding handed down by the No.3 section of Barcelona Provincial High Court, dated 17 December '83, expressly acknowledges Joaquín Gambin Hernandez's status as a police informer, this having been accepted as evidence during the trial by the prosecution in the shape of a false identity card issued to Gambin by the police in order to facilitate him in his tasks as a paid police infiltrator."

"Although the CNT considers Gambin to have been the instigator of the manufacture of explosives, this contention has been repudiated by the prosecuting counsel, given that acceptance of it would mean that others condemned would be criminally liable (they are already in custody) since the appeal for a non-trial submitted at the time by the defence was not granted."

"Quite apart from the productivity of his 'work', the use of an informer may be interpreted as a breach of Article 18 of the Constitution which defines the integrity and confidentiality of legally constituted individuals, physical or legal, such as the CNT. In this instance, the police...by recourse to a paid intermediary...made illicit entry into the union, something

### The CNT denounces the Scala frame-up.



otherwise impossible (barring a court order) given the legal status of the organisation. The crime of illicit entry was affected through a malicious individual and this sham constitutes a punishable act.

"Asked by reporters why the CNT did not bring a private action in the Gambin case, the General Secretary stated that the opportunity was missed in the days when Jose Bondia (1) (ex-Secretary of the National Committee now expelled from the organisation in Catalonia) turned it down on the basis of negotiations he was conducting off his own bat with the Socialist administration with the aim of securing the release of libertarian prisoners...negotiations which, naturally, proved fruitless."

*Solidaridad Obrera*, No.140, January, 1984)

As for Jesus Fortes Gil, another accused in the Scala case, arrested in Rome in January 1982 and extradited to Spain at the beginning of 1985, despite a widespread campaign waged by the international anarchist movement, he was finally freed on bail after nearly three years of imprisonment. Maite Fabres, also imprisoned in the case, was released without explanation. Both are victims of a judicial farce. (2)

### And What Of Escuerdo?

Jose Maria Escuerdo Tejada, the gifted disciple of 'supercop' Roberto Conesa, enjoyed more luck than his puppet Gambin. Far from being drummed out of the force, as befell others from the 'Conesa school' of policing, Escuerdo profited from the PSOE's accession to power. Rafael del Rio, the new Director General of police, spotted him during his time at police HQ in Barcelona and appointed him head of the Central Information Brigade. The Socialists had elevated one of the principal culprits of the Scala outrage to the position of number two in the anti-terrorist drive.

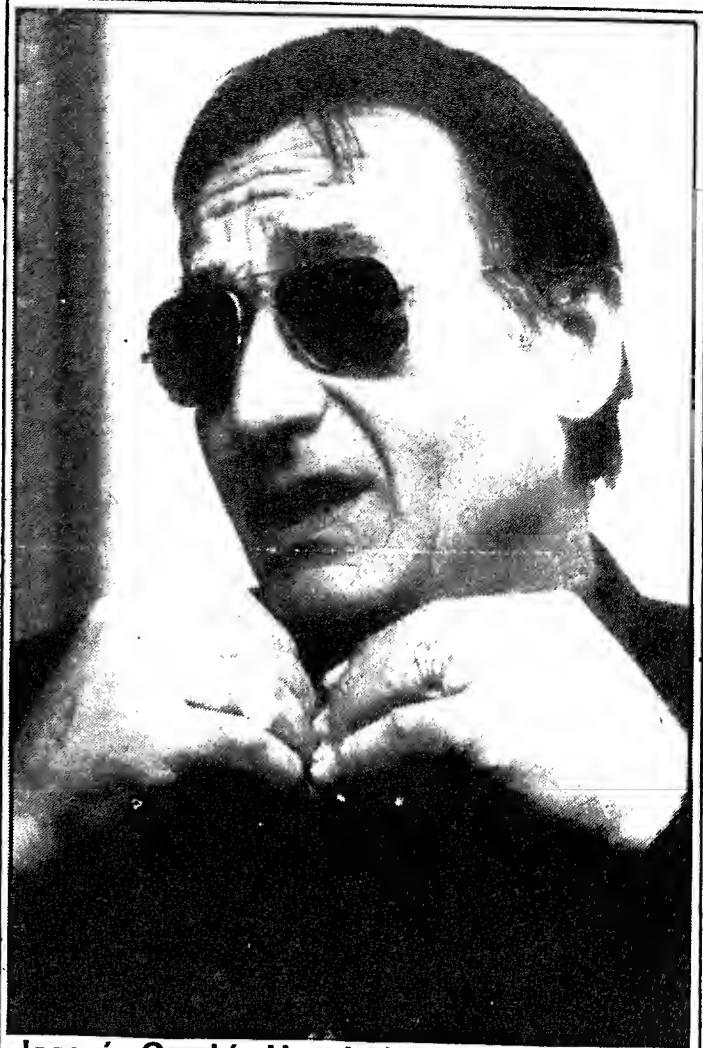
'Rocinante'

### Scala File — Footnotes

(1) Jose Bondia was removed as Secretary of the CNT-AIT National Committee in January 1983 for maintaining secret contact with the so-called 'renovated CNT', or Renovadas, (an anti-AIT grouping that left the CNT-AIT to form its own union in December 1979); and with the 'Socialist' government and PSOE at an executive level. Bondia stole micro-film of the CNT-AIT archives, failed to return video recordings of a CNT-AIT National Plenum, and left the union with a debt of £40,000. He is now a prominent opponent of the CNT-AIT within the phoney "reunified CNT", formed by the Renovadas and a motley collection of people expelled from the CNT-AIT, at a State-sponsored congress in Madrid (protected by 200 national Police) during June 1984.

The timing of the 'split' in the CNT in 1979 takes on a greater significance when seen against the background of the Scala provocation, and the much-quoted anti-CNT statements of the then Interior Minister Martin Villa. Is it mere coincidence that the split at the CNT's 5th Congress (ostensibly over the question of whether the union should participate in elections to the Government created *Comites de Empresa* — works councils — which are viewed by the CNT-AIT as tantamount to integration into the capitalist system, along the lines of the old fascist syndicates of the CNS under Franco) should come so close on the heels of a police conspiracy conceived in the Interior Ministry, and whose chief perpetrators enjoyed the patronage of the Socialist Administration; the purpose of which was to portray the CNT's opposition to the Moncloa Pact as being the work of "terrorists"? Both the government of the PSOE and the press have cynically manipulated the emergence of the Renovadas to weaken the CNT-AIT's opposition to the new anti-labour laws, and have used the existence of 'two CNTs' also as an excuse for not re-paying to the CNT-AIT the nearly £12m "Patrimony" owing to it as compensation for property and other assets stolen from the union by Franco at the end of the Civil War. Interestingly enough, the head of the Renovadas entertainment union, Casas (an ex-member of the CNS, Franco's vertical union) is a known friend of Martin Villa, Interior Minister at the time of the Scala case.

Besides Bondia, many of the other leading authors of the Renovada breakaway from the CNT-AIT can be clearly identified with various Catholic, Trotskyist, or pro-government groups which flocked into the CNT in the period of the union's rapid expansion following the death of Franco. Carlos Ramos, former general secretary of the Renovadas was a member of *Accion Catolica*, a Jesuit organisation opposed to the AIT which puts forward the idea of the CNT affiliating with the Christian Labour International, CMT. Ramos is now "Secretary of Patrimony" in the "reunified CNT". Also prominent in the "reunified CNT" is Luis Altabelle, another leading member of *Accion Catolica*; Jose M. Berro, second General Secretary of the Renovadas and formerly a member of the Trotskyist group *Liberacion*; and Antonio Perez Canales, one-time secretary of the CNT-AIT National Committee, but a



### Joaquín Gambín Hernández

former member of *Accion Comunista* and a veteran of the Communist union CC.OO. Carlos Martinez, the Renovadas first General Secretary, has now openly joined the ruling socialist party PSOE and its trade union the UGT, along with other ex-members of the Renovadas in Valencia.

(2) A recent issue of *Solidaridad Obrera*, organ of the CNT-AIT in Catalonia, carried a communique issued by the CNT-AIT Regional Prisoners Committee concerning the Scala case:

#### Press Comminque That The Other Papers Don't Want To Publish

A tiny note in just one Barcelona paper informed the public on 11 May of the suspension of the action brought against comrade Jesus E. Fortes Gil for alleged involvement in the Scala fire.

Nothing referred to "the administrative error" which resulted in this comrade staying imprisoned for three long years. Three years in which Maite Fabres was illegally detained as well as two others for the same reasons; that is the painful price that we defenceless citizens have to pay to the State's whims.

The press faithfully reflects its subordination to the public and economic powers by covering with a simple note such a criminal fact as a person losing three years of his/her life for the shameful interests of the State. Interests that, as we see once more, don't stop at whatever abuse, be it individual or collective.

Nevertheless, from now on, we will carry on denouncing those outrages and we will carry on calling for freedom of those still suffering the indiscriminate persecution of the administration. To be precise, those who are still suffering now the lack of freedom for something committed by the security services of the State and police: and who are oaying for it in a Kafkaesque way are:

Arturo Palma  
Jose Cuevas  
Javier Canadas

Permanente Pro-Presos  
CNT-AIT  
Regional Catana  
15 May 1985

(*Solidaridad Obrera* No.160, May 1985)





At the same time in France the efforts of men like Pearson and Gayre have borne fruit with the creation of the French "New Right" and especially with the group centred around the magazine *Nouvelle Ecole*. Today Roger Pearson is an advisor to *Nouvelle Ecole* and in 1978 a group from the magazine attended a WACL conference in Washington D.C.

According to Thomas Sheehan (in an article which first appeared in the *New York Review of Books*) the connections between *Nouvelle Ecole* and *Mankind Quarterly* are so great that they (along with a German journal *Neue Anthropologie*) are virtually interlinked publications even down to the presence of "three members of the racist *Mankind Quarterly*" Robert Gayre, Robert Kuttner and H.E. Garrett on the *Nouvelle Ecole* board of directors. (6) The entire *Nouvelle Ecole* advisory board has been aptly described by *New Yorker* writer Jane Kramer as a "Who's Who of Europe's fascist intelligensia." (7)

What concerns observers of *Nouvelle Ecole* like Kramer and Sheehan is the attempt to create a "Scientific foundation" based on the alleged science of "sociobiology". Such a view is exemplified by a leading *Nouvelle Ecole* thinker Alain de Benoist who argues that "An 'intelligent' racism that takes cognizance of ethnic diversity is less harmful than an intemperate, leveling, assimilative antiracism." (8)

This de Benoist statement perfectly captures the line of *The Mankind Quarterly* since its founding in 1960. Yet just as today when many suspect the link up of the intellectual fascism of a de Benoist with the people who bombed Rue Copernic may be more than both sides would care to admit, the same pattern of evidence linking the academic fascism of a Gayre to the gutter Nazi Pearson was transparent in 1960.

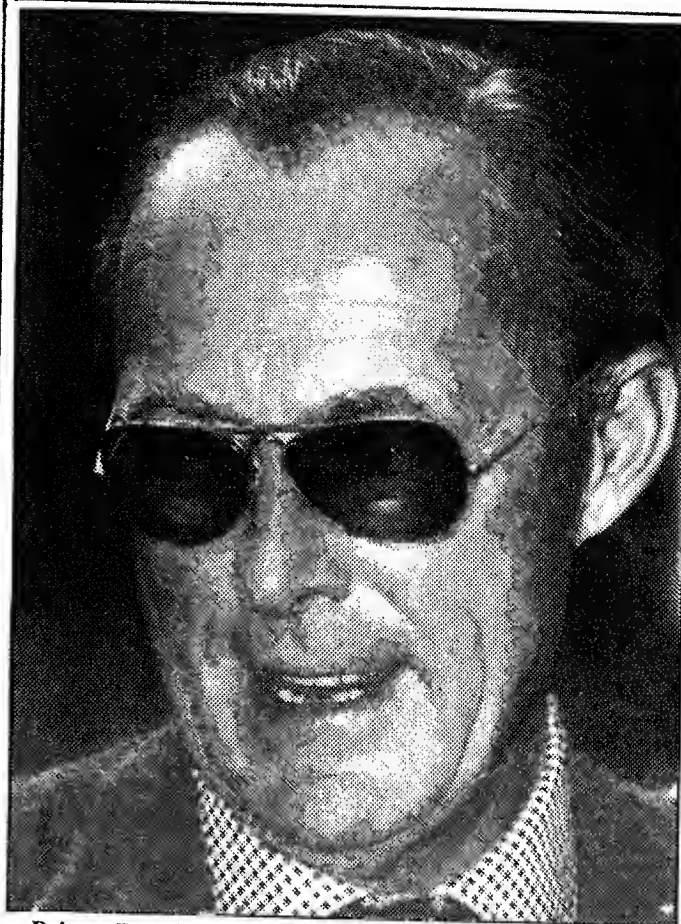
In the late 1950's as Gayre was preparing *The Mankind Quarterly* Roger Pearson was involved in creating his own magazine *Northern World* — *Folk* which was the mouthpiece for his racist Northern League for Pan-Nordic Friendship. The Northern League had offices in Dumferline, Scotland and Sausalito, California (where Willis Carto was then based) and in 1962 Amsterdam. Besides arguing in the magazine that the Vikings really discovered North America and that Atlantis was the "earliest culture ground of Europe" the *Northern World* pushed the necessity of "loyalty to Nordic culture and Nordic ideals" since Nordic man is the "true white man". Indeed according to *Northern World* "the white race is unique in that it cannot be improved by inter-breeding with any other variety".

Pearson's Northern League had an active relationship with a host of neo-Nazi organisations centred around a German based ex-follower of Otto Strasser named Otto Karl Dupow. (7) At the same time men like Robert Kuttner (currently a member of the advisory board of *The Mankind Quarterly*) were writing articles in *Northern World* in defence of the Druids. (10) Gayre for his part advertised his magazines *The Mankind Quarterly* and a magazine devoted to heraldry called *The Amorial* in the pages of *Northern World* while *Northern World* recommended Gayre's publications for "racist intellectuals". (In 1964 *Northern World* reorganised and renamed itself *Western Destiny*. *Western Destiny* a journal which was edited by Roger Pearson was based in California. The magazine also heavily promoted the ideas of Francis Parker Yockey. Willis Carto was one of the major behind the scenes editors of the magazine.) (11)

Along with running the publication of *Northern World* in 1959 Pearson actually organised in Germany:

a week-long meeting of the Northern League which culminated in a demonstration at the foot of the Arminius monument in commemoration of the 1500th anniversary of the battle on the Teutoburg Forest (from Tauber)

This battle (which occurred in 9 A.D.) was won by the "Nordic" German tribes against the Roman legions. The actual



Prince Bernhard, Bilderberg chairman 1954 - 1976

sight of the battle is in the German principality of Lippe and at the time it was inhabited by the Cherusci tribe.

It happens that Robert Gayre is a Chamberlain to the current Prince of Lippe, (a close family relation to) the notorious Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands. In November 1960 the "Grand Chamberlain to the Prince of Lippe" joined the editorial board of Gayre's heraldic publication, *The Amorial*.

Bernhard as is becoming increasingly well known maintained his Nazi ties all during World War II, ties which dated back to his earlier involvement in the SS and the SA. (13) Bernhard's World Wildlife Fund activities today receive substantial funding from leading 'Afrikaner' business groups in South Africa, groups known to have fond memories of Germany and the Netherlands. (14) Nor is the Dutch Royal Family noted for possessing a great deal of sanity. Bernhard's wife ex-Queen Juliana, for example is a strong believer both in UFO's and the teachings of G.I. Gurdjieff. (15)

There is also evidence to suggest that WACL itself received funding from the Dutch Secret Service. According to the 1978 book *L'Orchestre Noir* the WACL was very close to certain Western research outfits based in Holland, including the Institut Oost West de la Haye which was headed up by Mi Van der Heuvel who was also the Holland representative to WACL. WACL also had close ties to the *Centre d'Information et de Documentation* ('Interdoc') which also was believed to receive Dutch Secret Service money. One of the attendees at the initial meeting which created Interdoc was Professor Luigi Cedda who at the time was also a member of the editorial board of *The Mankind Quarterly*. (16)

Roger Pearson's pro-race tilt became more obvious in fact in the Netherlands itself when Pearson extended an invitation to the head of an organisation of ex-Dutch SS men to attend a WACL conference in New York in the late 1970's! This led to a panicked attempt by a leading Dutch WACL figure (Dr. N.W.J.M. Breelmeijer) to warn Pearson that he had been "tricked" by the ex-SS men. (17)

Besides then links to the darker side of Dutch monarchical policies the clique of Gayre and Pearson also have links to one of Europe's dirtiest southern monarchies the House of Savoy. Again it was Gayre who led the way when in the 1940's as an Allied 'Education Officer' first in Sicily and then in Italy proper he began his campaign both for the House of Savoy and for Sicilian Separatism. In 1962 in fact Gayre even wrote a book whose title told all: *A Case for Monarchy — A Plea for the Maintenance and the Restoration of Monarchy with Particular Reference to the House of Savoy*.

Gayre's policy has been consistently to try to attempt to split off Sicily and as much of Italy as possible in a new country which would be governed by the now exiled House of Savoy. In late 1943 Gayre even went so far as to organise a *Sicilian Anthropological Society* which became not surprisingly a hotbed of Sicilian separatism via its *Institute of Social Anthropology*. This organisation (which at one time had 2,800 'students') was suppressed by the Italian government, a fact which Gayre bitterly denounced in his 1946 book *Italy in Transition*. (18)

Despite its exile status the House of Savoy is no 'comic opera' bunch of aristocrats. (19) In the late 1950's the House of Savoy directly tried to organise a takeover of Sicily. (20) In the mid-1960's it was reported in the Italian press that an organisation known as *Permindex* had been uncovered. *Permindex's* activities have allegedly included assassination attempts against Charles De Gaulle and in 1967 it was revealed that Clay Shaw was on the board of directors of a *Permindex* subsidiary called the *Centro Mondiale Commerciale*. The connection between the Italian members of the Board of *Permindex* related corporations and the House of Savoy is striking. (21) One of the most notorious examples of this is the fact that Prince Gutierrez de Spandfora (an Italian aristocrat related by marriage to Hjalmar Schacht and the owner of a major oil refinery in Medina, Sicily) is a member of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, an Order which is only given out by the House of Savoy to its closest friends. (22) The Order is the *sister* one to the Order of Saint Lazarus, another right-wing Heraldic order whose Grand Master in the late 1950's was His Royal Highness Prince Francois de Bourbon et Bourbon of Spain, while the head of the English Tongue was none other than Robert Gayre himself. (23) Amazingly enough the head of the American Baliwick of the Order of St. Lazarus was a Scotsman, Lord Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton. (27) Douglas-Hamilton at the same time was the head of a notorious right-wing British intelligence group whose publications (*Weekly Review* and *Intelligence Digest*) spent a good deal of time warning against a mysterious *third force* which controlled the world drug trade and which was both linked to Grand Orient freemasonry and to the Rothschild family. (25) Agents from this *third force* (it was also called *Force X*) were alleged to have infiltrated the UN, UNESCO, ADA, CFR and the American Jewish Committee. In the 1950's and 1960's the *Intelligence Digest* group managed to establish networks in especially the American South and in American military intelligence circles. (26)

There are also hints that this group overlaps the networks of the famous Mitchell Werbell, who in fact claims to be half-Scottish and who often wears a kilt. Werbell is very close to Willis Carto and his Liberty Lobby. We also know that in 1969 (according to the 1978 British *Who's Who*) none other than Robert Gayre visited Georgia and was made an honorary Lieutenant-Colonel and Aide de Camp (ADC) to the then Governor of Georgia, Lester Maddox. (27) Gayre could only get this award through the sponsorship of some Georgia group of citizens. Along with all this we have the fact (reported in Jim Hougen's book *Spooks*) that one major investor in Werbell's aborted Sionics gun company was Charles Spofford who was the director of the CIA's American Committee on United Europe which Hougen describes as something of "an analogue to Prince Bernhard's so called Bilderberg group." (28)

If this attempt to follow the tracks of one man, Robert Gayre, which has led us from Scotland, the the New Right in France, to the WACL of Roger Pearson and the intrigues of the Dutch and Italian Royal Houses and then back to Sicily and finally to Georgia has any value it is to show empirically the interconnections between the real groups that comprise the "Black International" or at least the openly racist section of it. If the tour has been somewhat dizzying it is because the "Black International" is itself highly sophisticated. If we can only react emotionally to only the most blatant acts of terror of the foot soldiers of this apparatus then we will miss forever getting an overall conception of the nature of the beast. We will have been deceived in exactly the way a magician deceives his audience — by misdirection.

Once we see through the curtains and break the spell we will see the same apparatus of power that remained intact after World War II despite the defeat of Hitler. That apparatus is totally dependent on its ability to function in a hidden manner. Nothing can be so devastating to it as the clear exposure of its ways to the middle and working class populations of the United States and Europe.

Kevin Coogan.

### Footnotes

1. Hitchens, Christopher. 'Eurofascism - The Wave of the Past', *The Nation*, November 29, 1980.

1.5 See 'Public Eye' 11 (1979).

2. As I shall document Pearson's direct ties with Gayre are visible in the late 1950's. However it is possible that the two men might well have first come into contact with each other in India in the 1950's. Pearson (who in George Thayer's book on the far right 'The Farther Shore of Politics' is described as a 'tea plantation' owner in Ceylon) may have well met Gayre when Gayre was heading up the 'Department of Anthropo-geography, University of Saugor, India, 1954-56'. (British *Who's Who* 1978). In a biographical profile of Pearson which can be found in the back of the publication 'South Africa - The Vital Link' (Council on American Affairs, 1976) it is stated that: "Roger Pearson is Executive Director of the Council on American Affairs. Born in England, he obtained his B.Sc. (honors), M.Sc. and Ph.D. from the University of London. Following commissioned service with the British Indian Army at the close of World War II, he spent some 16 years in the Far East and Africa as a Company Director, becoming Chairman of Pakistan Tea Association in 1954. Retiring from commerce, he accepted a University appointment in 1968..." Pearson's history might lead one to wonder if his role in commerce had some relation to employment by some intelligence agency.

3. This is from a hostile profile of Carto which appeared as the cover story of a 1971 issue of 'The National Review'.

4. Carto's emphasis on race and not ideology is also reflected in the strange history of the "guru" of Carto and to some degree of Pearson, the notorious Francis Parker Yockey, author of the post-war substitute for 'Mein Kampf' called 'Imperium'. Before his death in prison in the early 1960's Yockey had proclaimed that Russia was the country that had done the most to eradicate the hold of Jewish finance capital on it! Yockey (according to Kurt Tauber's invaluable work on the German post war right entitled 'Beyond Eagle and Swastika') is said to have taken a "pro-Soviet" stance in the late 40's when he was allied with the violently anti-American wing of a key collection of ex nazi military men entitled the "Bruderschaft" and one of its leaders named Frank Cricksch: (Vol.2, pg. 1120, footnote 207. Yockey's name is incorrectly given as Frederick.)

Yockey was linked to an organisation called the European Liberation Front (ELF) which was an early group of fascist intellectuals. The editor of the ELF's magazine was Peter J. Buxley-Blythe who later became a leader of Roger Pearson's Northern League for Pan-Nordic Friendship. (Tauber, Vol.2, pg.1105, footnote 142). For more on Yockey see especially the Willis Carto introduction to 'Imperium' and National Review of Carto. It is also worth pointing out that Yockey was alleged to have travelled to both the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union itself in the 1950's. In his introduction to 'Imperium' Carto feels compelled to try and mute any criticism of Yockey's "pro-Russian" past.

5. For example in 1974 Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, the head of British WACL denounced the presence of fascist groups in WACL and named WACL groups in South America and Europe as being controlled by neo-Nazi and anti-semitic groups. Stewart-Smith signed out an organisation called the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) as being especially strong in Chile and Argentina where it was allowed to grow. The WUNS representative in Europe is the British Nazi, Colin Jordan. (See F' Laurent 'L'Orchestre Noir'. Stock, Paris, 1978). Colin Jordan was a protégé of Peter J. Huxley-Blythe who was close to both Pearson and Yockey. (Tauber, Vol.2, pg.1105-1106, footnote 142 and pg. 1120, footnote 207).

6. Sheehan's article is reprinted in the book 'Sociobiology Examined' which was edited by Ashley Montague. (Oxford University Press). The May 28, 1978 'Washington Post' reported on the 'Nouvelle Ecole' attendance at WACL's Washington DC conference.

7. In a profile on the French intelligensia in a 1980 issue of the 'New Yorker'.

8. Cited in an article entitled 'Anti-Semitism and the French Right' by Jean Bloch-Michel which appeared in the Summer 1980 issue of 'Dissent' magazine, Bloch-Michel reports that in France after the 1968 student riots "a handful of militants from a neo-Nazi organisation called 'Europe Action' decided to modernise their activities and to take on a new field of operations. To this end, in 1969 they founded GRECE (Research and Study Group for European Civilisation), supplied it with one bulletin for members, 'Elements', and one lavishly produced magazine for general distribution, 'Nouvelle Ecole', of which Alain de Benoist, who was one of those who had moved over from 'Europe Action', became editor".

9. Tauber, 'Beyond Eagle and Swastika', Vol.2, pgs. 1105-6 and Vol. 1, pgs. 234-5;

10. Kuttner is also on the Board of 'Nouvelle Ecole' as mentioned earlier. In her article on the French intelligensia Braber labels the 'Nouvelle Ecole' crowd (many of whom now write for 'Le Figaro Weekly' which is edited by Louis ) "the Druids at le Figaro". De Benoist describes himself as "a Pagan". To get a sense of GRECE's views it is useful to quote Bloch-Michel who writes: "one can summarize its thinking thus: GRECE is opposed to the 'Judo-Christian' ideology (and everyone knows what that means); it urges the need for a return to Celtic and 'Indo-European' sources. (Louis Pauwels hammers on this constantly). The term 'Aryan' is generally eschewed for reasons that need not be stressed. What the people who believe in the GRECE doctrine expound and defend is a 'scientific' racism, not to be confused with Hitler's 'romantic' racism." In this context it is also worth noting that Roger Pearson also publishes his own 'scientific' 'Journal of Indo-European Studies' out of the same address as 'The Mankind Quarterly', 1716 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington DC. 20009.

11. The first issue of 'Western Destiny' in June 1964 was dedicated to promoting the thought of Francis Parker Yockey. The first issue also had an ad for the mysterious International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics of which Robert Gayre is a member of its Council. The content of 'Western Destiny' can be gleaned by the subject of its articles. True to form in October 1964 the magazine endorsed Black Nationalism and praised Marcus Garvey. In March 1965 we are told that Churchill's death was caused by a fatal stroke after he learned that his daughter was to marry an American Negro. Other articles praised Ezra Pound and the German conductor Furtwaengler while denouncing Schoenberg. Pearson initially did not edit 'Western Destiny' when it was coming out of Carto's turf, the West Coast. In October 1965 Pearson did become the editor and this continued until March, 1966 when Pearson said he was leaving America. The last issue of 'Western Destiny' (in April, 1966) had a large picture of Yockey wearing handcuffs after his final arrest in the early 60's on false passport charges. Yockey mysteriously died in jail while awaiting trial on those charges.

14. In 1980 the British magazine 'private Eye' revealed that "Several prominent members of the powerful Afrikaner secret society the Broederbond have contributed funds to the controlling body of the World Wildlife Fund. Their contributions to the secret '1001 Club', almost certainly stem from the deep involvement in WWF affairs of fellow Broederbonders Dr. Anton Rupert, the Rothmans tobacco baron, whose influence on the conservation charity is far greater than realised." Another contributor to the charity is Simon Rosenbaum who is described in 'Private Eye' as "erstwhile banker to the Mob as head of the crashed International Credit Bank in Geneva." Rosenbaum was a very close personal friend of Prince Bernhard. According to the book Queen Juliana by William Hoffman Bernhard was also close to Robert Vesco. Hoffman also states that the World Wildlife Fund charity "served various Western nations as an intelligence gathering apparatus in Africa."

15. Much at times to Bernhard's own dismay. (See Hoffman, 'Queen Juliana'). Louis Pauwels was an ex-Gurdjieff disciple and in his anthology 'Monsieur Gurdjieff' Pauwels tries to argue that Gurdjieff and Stalin and Hitler were involved in an occult conspiracy and that Gurdjieff was with Professor Karl Haushofer in Tibet in the early 1900's! (See James Webb's 'The Harmonious Circle', New York, 1980 on Gurdjieff where he mentions Pauwels). Pauwels was also the co-author of the extremely odd underground "classic" 'Morning of the Magicians'. A great deal of Pauwels activity in concocting various themes involves a playback capability into the Soviet Union. Gurdjieff, founder of the 'Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man', was a Russian exile whose quack philosophy was popular among the literati on both sides of the Atlantic.

16. Gedda, who in the Laurent book is described as "a man of the Vatican and of the CIA" was appointed by Pope Pius XII to head up the 'Action Committees' to prevent an Italian Communist Party takeover of Italy in the late 1940's. Gedda is an expert in heredity and genetics who heads up the Mendel Institute in Rome and whose work has been warmly praised in 'The Mankind Quarterly'. Gedda's political astuteness was once again demonstrated when he endorsed 'Democrat' Lyndon La Rouché for President of the United States in 1980! La Rouché of course continues to receive support from Willis Carto's Liberty Lobby.

As for Interdoc itself in one of its publications it states that in 1957 a meeting of French and German industrialists, academics, journalists, and armed forces representatives met in the south of France to discuss the problem of communism and what steps to take. In 1958 "Dutch, British, Italian, Belgian and Swiss groups" joined them and in 1963 Interdoc was formed as a clearing house on East-West information.

It is worth noting that Interdoc has been involved in promoting the thought of Nicholas Herdiaev, a right wing mystic philosopher whose most famous book is entitled 'The New Middle Ages'. (For the influence of Herdiaev in the Russian 'New Right' see John Dunlop's

'The New Russian Revolutionaries' and Alexander Yanov's important 'The Russian New Right'.

17. This is based on copies of internal WACL documents in the author's possession.

18. In 'Italy in Transition' Gayre also discusses what he sees as divisions in British Freemasonry between the 'Scottish' and Continental wings of freemasonry. In the midst of a long discussion on Sicilian separatism (pgs. 149-151) Gayre notes: In all this the freemasons of the British kind (within the occupation forces) who are represented by the Scottish Rite so far as I can tell, lean steadily towards separatism whilst those of the Continental type are prone to socialism". And on page 204 he states: "I have noticed that the freemasons are particularly keen upon separatism - it seems that the members of the Scottish Rite over here are particularly redisposed in this direction."

19. The current head of the House, Prince Victor Emmanuel of Savoy is one of Europe's leading weapons dealers. See 'Princes and Playboys' by Taki Theodoracopulos in the February 27, 1979 issue of 'Esquire'.

20. The Savoy coup attempt was co-ordinated through a deputy in the regional parliament of Sicily named Gianfranco Alliata who was a member of the Moarchist Party. The importance of Sicily continues to be felt in our time (i.e. the recent scandals involving Michele Papa, the head of the Sicilian separatist movement, Billy Carter and Colonel Gadaffi and the alleged secret trip by Michele Sindona to Europe in aid of US intelligence agencies to have Sindona intervene in the situation in Sicily).

22. According to Gayre's book on the House of Savoy there is only one higher honor one can receive from the House and that is the Order of Annunciation which is restricted to only 20 Italian members. Prince Gutierrez de Spacafora it should be noted has long been suspected of being one of the most important backers of Sicilian separatism. Allen Dulles received the Order of St. Lazarus in 1946, before he became CIA director.

23. In the June 1962 issue of 'The Green Cross, the 'Official Organ of the Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem' its editor (and publisher) Robert Gayre writes: "The fate of the Order of SS, Maurice and Lazarus cannot be indifferent to our Order, for the original Order of St. Lazarus split into a northern and a southern half and the latter came to be amalgamated with St. Maurice, under the protection and grand mastership of the Dukes of Savoy. It is, therefore, the sister Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, and the Order to which we have the nearest relationship in all aspects of our history and mission... just as St. Lazarus is an international, semi-independent Order under the High Protection of the Kings of France and their Dynastic Successors, and not a State Order, so the Order of St. Maurice and Lazarus has a similar relationship to the Dukes of Savoy."

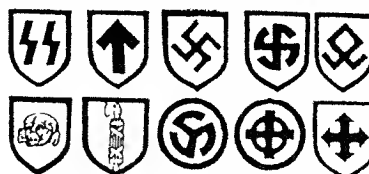
24. He is of course a member of the Hamilton family which is one of Scotland's leading families. (It was to the Duke of Hamilton's estate that Rudolf Hess tried to fly to on his famous mission). His widow, Lady Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton is currently a member of the American Security Council's Committee for Peace Through Strength and is the President and General Secretary of The Committee to Unite America.

25. See for example the May 10, 1963 issue of 'Weekly Review' where the mysterious force is given its code name P:P RDTW: SWIHP. See the June 28, 1963 'Weekly Review' for an attack on the Rothschilds. According to the magazine "Lord Rothschild is pro-Socialist while Alain's key man Pompidieu dominates De Gaulle's government." The Rothschilds are strongly implied to be also behind the Pontecorvo affair, the defection to the USSR of an Italian physicist. Note the resemblance between the ideology of the British group and that of USLP and Liberty Lobby.

26. This led in 1950 to the editor of 'Weekly Review' and 'Intelligence Digest' Kenneth De Courcy becoming an honorary citizen of New Orleans. One American member of the 'Weekly Review' was Robert Morris, the Special Council to the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee in the 1950's who went on to become head of Dallas University. Admiral Charles Freeman, a notorious anti-semitic, was a member of the American board of 'Intelligence Digest'.

27. Gayre also has a similar honor from the State Militia of Alabama.

28. Houghan, Jim. 'Spooks'. New York, 1978. Pg.41. It should be remembered that until the Trilateral Commission came along many in the ultra-right was the Bilderberg group as somehow evil incarnate. Yet in reality the Bilderberg group may be seen more as an amalgamation of different tendencies both of the extreme cold war type and more pro-detente elements. It is argued in the Soviet magazine 'New Times' (February, 1980; No.6) that the Trilateral Commission was itself a "pro-detente" split off from the Bilderberg crew and that the Lockheed scandal was part of this attack on the Bilderberg right wing represented by Bernhard. The same kind of phenomena might be seen in America via the 'Eastern establishment' Watergate of Nixon. See A. Andreyev's 'Invisible Centers of Real Power' which is a review and comment on Luis Gonzales-Nata's 'Les Vrais Maitres du Monde'.





**EDITORIAL NOTE:** We are publishing here a selection of documents issued recently by the armed resistance groups in West Germany (BRD) and France, and by the political prisoners in the BRD, with the aim of stimulating thought and discussion around the serious issues they raise for all revolutionaries in Western Europe. With the exception of the RZ paper, *Beethoven Vs. McDonald*, this is the first time any of this material has appeared in English. We believe that without precise facts, to counter for example, denounces of 'terrorism' of the 'Baader-Meinhof gang' when dealing with armed actions carried out by a myriad of resistance groups, besides the 'historic' RAF, and the often ill-informed prejudice and confusion of some groups of 'comrades' claiming to be Anarchist (not to speak of the 57 varieties of Leninist 'Vanguard', all clinging desperately to their sterile legality and Party-building), then there can be no possibility of coming to any conclusions of benefit to the revolutionary movement about the strategy and tactics of the armed underground. It is in this spirit of honest debate that we ask our readers to consider the following texts.

The material presented here represents only a small amount of the documentation we have accumulated on the ideas and actions of the armed resistance in Western Europe. We hope at some point in the near future to publish the bulk of it (denied to us here by lack of space) in pamphlet form. If any of our readers are able to help in the translation of material into English from French, German, or Dutch, we would be delighted to hear from them. Our grateful thanks, meanwhile, must go to the comrade who rendered the statements printed here into an intelligible form for us with commendable speed, good humour, and efficiency.

Anarchy Collective

# ARMED STRUGGLE IN WESTERN EUROPE



## Revolutionary Cells

### BEETHOVEN VS. McDONALD

Attempts by fascist groups in American cities, and against American soldiers and officers in the Frankfurt region during the second half of 1982, were originally attributed to us by the State Security, but even after the Hepp Group's arrest, also by left reformists who considered us morally responsible.

A TAZ\* journalist was right in thanking the BKA for arresting these fascists, thus allowing that armed groups from the left not be considered responsible for these actions, but by her attitude she insinuated that a doubt could exist: according to her the guerilla would have easily been capable of these kinds of actions.

The journal *Radikal*, even if it has a completely different perspective, uses the fascist bombs as a pretext to open a discussion on "border cases" somewhere between RZ, cop and fascist, and criticizes in the same breath "the mishandling and errors" committed during actions which are part of our movement.

Even though a debate on the objectives and the organization of armed politics from the left is particularly necessary now, anti-American attempts by a fascist group are a bad starting point for a discussion. The disorientation and lack of certainty regarding these attempts cannot be explained by a "diffused actionism" or a lack of depth of the militant and armed left politics which would have provoked this. We couldn't discuss in the same manner a few attempts, problematic because of the choice of target or technique, which occurred partially during the expulsion of squatters in Berlin, and the series of fascist plots. People who amalgamate them not only negligently pass over the different political motivations of these actions, but also prevent the discussion of the real reasons of this disorientation: a latent anti-Americanism which also exists in the heart of the German left, a lightness of analysis and lack of interest which led to the ignorance of



the developments in the fascist spectre and real common moments between fascist actions and secret service operations, and this in spite of the 1980 Munich blood bath, in spite of Bologna, in spite of the murderous campaigns against immigrant or Jewish labourers. Outside any moral judgement of the Hepp Group's actions it should have become obvious at the latest after the attempts which were directed against isolated members of the American army, that the group was moving towards an anti-Americanism wave which we reject and will fight as a political conceptualization.



It shows a lack of good faith to insinuate that attempts directed against the American army, against American installations, against NATO's logistic, against communication networks and against American multinationals, and claimed by the Revolutionary Cells, the RAF, and a number of independent groups, could have originated from the same anti-American political line or a comparable one, or even that these groups would consider such a line favourably.

These actions were without exception anti-imperialist and contained in themselves the possibility of deepening the failures and contradictions which exist at the heart of the American army and of supporting racial and national minorities' resistance. We attacked the officers' mess, not simple soliders and not supermarkets. We exploded bombs against subsidiaries of American multinationals, ensuring that no small German or American employee suffered the least amount of injuries. The American Army general headquarters in Frankfurt were often the target of attacks, actions were directed against military fuel depots (storage facilities) but never against gas stations which are situated in zones reserved for American housing. Finally, it is not without reason that we chose Reagan's visit in Europe and the NATO summit meeting as a pretext for a series of actions — and not something like a Sammy Davis Jr. concert or the extension of Dallas' air-time. The latest attempts against SEL in Dusseldorf and against IBM in Reutlingen leave no doubt concerning the differences.

Those who have followed our practice and our political positions know that we reject diffuse politics directed against segments of the people, that we reject terrorism. Strategies of tension, of blood baths, belong to the arena of fascist groups or secret services for whom human beings are only pawns that can be sacrificed for a small profit. They use the fear of the population to benefit their politics which concerns itself with influencing or modifying institutions.

On the other hand, we consider ourselves as a part of a weak anti-imperialist and social-revolutionary current in the FRG and West Berlin, the extension and the political and military stabilization of which we will continue to contribute to. Our long liberation struggle originates from the base and does not play with either the life of individuals or that of our own friends. We still find ourselves in the first phase of this process, where the question is to essentially lead the struggle to win "the heart and mind" of people and not to lead a war.

That we use in our struggle the same armaments and explosives as the right and the cops must not lead to the conclusion that they are used in the same manner!

Armaments or explosives, typewriters or printing machines, cameras or musical instruments, all these can be used as instruments for our struggles: it depends on how they are used and whom they are attached to.

The political responsibility of the anti-American attempts does not fall on the armed left groups, but rather on a certain part of the peace movement which practices a diffuse nationalism, which disseminates the absurd idea that the FRG is an "occupied country", which is awakening a German patriotism and is abandoning the left politics while it equates the question of missile deployment with a question of national identity. The frontier between anti-imperialism and the mobilization of anti-American feelings has to melt when the leaders of the peace movement support their protest against over-armament and the Pershing missiles by appealing to the feelings of honour of the German people against a quasi-colonial slavery.

There is also an enormous difference between considering McDonald as an American food cartel which imposed intensive work organizational norms as well as extreme salary degradations and put in place around the world an agro-food business, and to consider it as an expression of "yankee" culture. Those who make Coca-Cola a synonym of genocide and consider it the principle form of cultural imperialism, and place it on the

same level as the American government support of all the military dictators, remove from themselves the possibility of understanding the fascist origin of nationalist or anti-American actions.

The political scandal is not the fact that the fascists transformed these positions which are also present in the peace movement into military actions to their advantage. The scandal is that these positions can exist and that they could have imposed themselves in a process of delineation and in the struggle of social-revolutionary and anti-imperialist positions led by left reformists of all tendencies, in the cartels which call for the signature of petitions going through TAZ and including the Greens. And this is the way in which the will of the peace movement alliances led in part consciously, in part with naivety, to nationalist or fascist positions. The occurrence of fascist groups, of anti-semitic actions, is not surprising at first. In the first place they operate on only one line: racism and hatred of foreigners. Hitler's phrase: "*There is more culture in one of Beethoven's symphonies than in all of what America has produced so far*" summarizes well all the feelings and the obscure aversions against American culture, and contains the same notion which we find today in the campaign against Americanisms in the German language. Fascist groups identify themselves with this tradition. Michael Kuhn says regarding the meaning of right-wing anti-Americanism: "*Historically, it is an old current, because we had to fight the Second World War, it is known, as much with the US as with the USSR. It is the old story of middle Europe (1) which turns itself against both eastern and western foreign powers. For us, the problem of imperialism of the West is more important than that of the East. Today, beyond this historical aspect, there is the point of view of the decadence of our culture, of our language, of the music imported here by America — and we categorically reject this. We must also remember the problem of drugs. The fact is that everything we fight can be totally identified by the term Americanism.*"

It is important to further discuss here the goals of the right — its problematic: the creation of a European bloc under German hegemony — it is manifest and warns of an extension of anti-American actions according to the same principle in the future than that of the model already experienced. Hatred of the immigrant, repulsion against everything that is foreign, designation and persecution of everything which is different are now as before in the FRG the profoundly anchored motives that the fascists include in their calculations. For example, in the Rhine-Main region, in the cities and communities where American troops are stationed, there are racist feelings similar to those found elsewhere against the Turks and Arabs, directed against American soldiers and particularly against black ones.

"*Never since the Thirty-Year War, has the city known such insecurity: robberies, murders, rapes, day and night...The old city of Freiburg is a civilian practice field for our American protectors who get drunk, and fight and rape each other...*" This deaf feeling of fear with its racist component — numerous cafes are closed to black American soldiers — is the basis of anti-American actions. It is even sadder that we have taken this quote from the April 8, 1982, TAZ under the title: "*Yes to anti-Americanism*".

This development in the fascist camp is occurring parallel to modifications in the state apparatus confirmed by the March 6th elections. In this situation, massacres such as the one that occurred at the 1980 beer fest, and which were the culminating point of a campaign led by several secret services who wanted to demonstrate the inability of the coalition to control the state apparatus and to favour the election of Strauss as chancellor, are no longer the order of the day (see *Colere Revolutionnaire* No.6).

Rather, today, the efforts are intensified to discredit both legal and illegal resistance with diffuse actions, to contribute

to the disorientation and the drowning of the aims of armed politics by confusing anti-American and anti-imperialist actions, and to build terrorist groups who are controlled by the police and who operate under our name or under another or even without claim. This is how propagandists of the police apparatus tried to attribute fascist attempts to us, even though the State Security services knew since the beginning that we had nothing to do with it. Even stranger is the fact that Odfried Hepp who allegedly stayed in Beirut in phalangist and PLO camps, who was brought back into the FRG through a difficult operation by the BND, who is the key witness against Hoffman, who came out of the trial with a pitiful sentence half of which he did not have to serve, would be the main instigator of this group. He was also the only one who was able to evade arrest.

The interest that the State Security find with fascist groups and their actions as well as the protection that they enjoy from a portion of the state apparatus does not mean, far from it, that the State Security has itself directed these attempts. We consider as absurd this proposition of this so-called RZ, as though behind "the counter-insurgency actions" (in any case too "professional" for RZ's) there would necessarily be Parquet and that it would be under his orders that the BND and the BKA would have hit the American cities.

- 1) We see nothing professional in a switch and a mixture of herbicide...
- 2) Such a construction denies the existence of fascist groups and thus allows that debates on their positions, such as after Munich, be transferred to the left.
- 3) Such a statement assumes the transformation of an institutional domination and of a legalized power into a terrorism directed by the state — a development which we do not exclude in isolated cases and which we consider possible — but for which there actually is no element. To explain such a development, by the danger of the RZ, or of the diffused guerilla is the expression of overestimation.

The CDU-FDP government will not miss an opportunity to undermine the credibility of the legal and illegal resistance and to clamp on it even more by increasing repressive measures. The length of the proceeding against the Hepp group are a typical example, the attacks by the police against the *Radikal*

or the *Atom* express are the other side of the leaf: where it is proclaimed that there is disorientation there is an effort to obstruct the channels that attempt clarification.

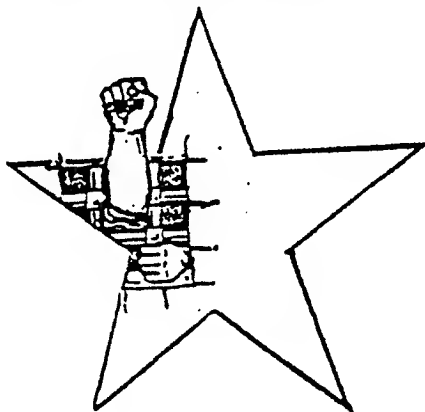
We cannot stop fascist actions. But we can make an effort to make our political positions precise and to render our practice clearer. But this implies the willingness and ability by other factions of the left, to lead the debate on our politics and theirs.

In this meaning: Happy Easter! Revolutionary Cells

Revolutionäre Zellen  
april 1983



## Communique



The arson attack on Siemens (Frankfurt) in the night of 16/17th December 1984.

We are fighting in solidarity with the prisoners of the resistance and the guerrillas who are now on hunger-strike for their rights to associate with each other in prison. We demand the minimum guarantees of the Geneva Convention. This is the political demand for which the prisoners are fighting, and their only possible defence against the institutionalisation of persecution and criminalisation (of political opposition) in the NATO-democracies.

*"In our situation we are faced with the problem which is the same for all those on the revolutionary Left — how to break through the defences of an illegitimate power structure, how to make inroads, to transform will into struggle and make political breakthroughs. For us that means we must break out of our isolation, the forced atomisation of society, and trust in our own power to fight this situation where the Imperialist State responds to its own instability and loss of legitimacy by asserting its will to dominate, and treats even a question of a change in conditions for the prisoners as a question of power. Our struggle is allied to the struggles of prisoners of war in France, Ireland, Turkey, Spain, Italy, and occupied Palestine, and forms part of the aims of the whole revolutionary Left."*

From the Hunger-Strike Declaration of the RAF Prisoners in Stammheim, 4.12.84.

To all proletarian internationalists:

The anti-imperialist vanguard is moving forward in its attacks on NATO, the State and Capitalism. Siemens is part of the Imperialist power structure. Its know-how, its products, play their part in combatting the resistance (through the police and the military). Solidarity with the hunger-strikers of the RAF and the resistance.

Communism for ever!

The anti-imperialist vanguard is fighting back.

# US Intelligence Attacked

*In the night of 29th—30th December we attacked an office of the US Military Intelligence (Military Intelligence Detachment) in Dusseldorf with an explosive compound in fire extinguishers.*

**The Guerrillas and the resistance are united in the struggle against Imperialism**

We believe that to fight imperialism we must resist and attack. It is our aim to create and develop a revolutionary struggle in the centres of power, alongside the movement for liberation. That can be the only way to break out of the defensive position of the resistance.

The revolutionary struggle for liberation has grown into a front against imperialism in many countries. The international class war has reached every part of the world. The Imperialists no longer have unrestricted power to preserve their own interests. National governments, with their apparatus of repression, are now challenged by liberation movements and are no longer in the position to turn things to their own advantage by the exploitation of their countries and populations.

At the moment the guerrilla war in El Salvador is the vanguard of the struggle. The victory of the guerrillas would be a step forward for the revolution, in terms of world power-relations. Therefore, the USA, and with them the whole chain of imperialist states, lay everything on stopping this from happening. They are trying with all means at their disposal to weaken the revolution. Grenada was only the beginning. The worldwide struggle for the revolution has entered a decisive phase. It is necessary in this situation to establish unity between the liberation movements in the 3rd World and those in the centres of power.

The perspective from which to fight for a breakthrough for the revolution must be international and anti-imperialist.

In practical terms that means we must co-ordinate our resistance with the struggles of the guerrillas, state our solidarity with them, and create a new dimension in the class war. This means concentrating our attack on the pillars of the system as a way of supporting the armed struggles of the guerrillas.

The fight against Imperialism is our only chance, here in the centres of power, to make any sort of gains for the revolution. This depends on the fusion of analysis of the system (which can promise nothing but destruction) with the personal will to stand up and confront Imperialism and the Imperialist state. Also in the context of the resistance itself, the time has come for a conscious movement towards solidarity. Only this can prevent the system from dividing and destroying us. It is necessary, if our resistance is not to fall victim to integration, as happened in '68, and to lose its strength. Above all, it has become necessary because of the function of the West European centres of power in the war against all peoples. Western Europe is not only the centre of US imperialist operations — as it was in the Vietnam war — but is also, through NATO, the springboard of operations against the 3rd World peoples and the Soviet Union.

Our task must be to break the offensive position of W.Europe in the process of imperialist restructuring, and in fighting to do this, to create more opportunities for action for the liberation movements. The struggle in the centres of power will explode the grip of the imperialists on the 3rd World from the inside. It is a war against imperialist war and a vital step towards revolution here. It is proletarian internationalism. We can become powerful if we build on what happened in 1980/1 and transform what was little more than a peripheral struggle, in which there was only a diffuse sense of common purpose

with the guerrillas, into a common strategy and a consciously co-ordinated struggle.

## Struggle for unity — organising the attack

Anti-imperialist resistance will only become effective here when it perceives all elements, guerrillas, resistance and prisoners, as part of the same movement. Whoever recognises this, and that each is only a part of the whole, is ready to put their awareness into practice through action. Everyone must start from their own experience, from the point where their break with the system becomes apparent. This is where perspective comes from.

The guerrillas are the nucleus of the anti-imperialist front, because only they, through their illegal organisation and armed struggle, can break through the barriers, and the power of the system, which, in the guise of legality, is used as a weapon against the resistance, and creates a perspective from which the overthrow of the system is seen to be possible. A resistance movement which allows itself to be cut off from its armed cells, or believes they are unnecessary, will run aground on the counter-revolution. Not only that, it gives the state the opportunity to penetrate its strategy, to isolate and destroy it. And, experiencing this weakness, it will give up all hope of victory.

We do not believe that the guerrillas alone can become a powerful revolutionary force, but that through the anti-imperialist struggle they can become a real factor in political power-relations: If the actions of the guerrillas and the resistance support and complement each other. Legal and illegal action are not separate, but are part of the same struggle.

Above all, we feel it is important not to look back to the time of the riots, but to seize on those central features of them which hit the system where it hurt, and to transform them into a strategy for the anti-imperialist resistance. We should do what is possible now to make the anti-imperialist front in Western Europe effective, and not always be waiting for more favourable conditions.

## The timing of our action today was not random.

The imprisoned comrades from the RAF and the resistance are at the moment fighting for their rights of association in groups of their own choosing through a collective, open-ended hunger strike. Inside, the level of control totally obscures issues of legality or illegality. The prisoners fight for their rights of association determines our common aim. It is a struggle within the prisons for the anti-imperialist front. At the same time it is a struggle against the rules and the persecution which are the reaction of the State to all forms of resistance.

The comrades show us that, even under the conditions of the NATO concentration camps, it is possible to go on fighting, and they give us courage for the struggle here on the outside.

The political system of the BRD is a product of US-imperialist planning after the Second World War. The BRD, on the dividing line between East and West, is, in its origins, structure and political organisation (rightdown to the news-service), the product of US intervention. The US security services (CIA, DIA, etc...) therefore, have their most important foreign positions here. Their collaboration with the BRD security services and police functions smoothly, hand in hand. Their centres are in the IG-Farben building in Frankfurt, and in the US army HQs, e.g. in Heidelberg. In all the larger cities they have contacts and informers.

Their task is to assist the progress of US imperialist global politics:

Espionage, manipulation of opinion, secret operations against the Warsaw Pact states, planning, preparation and carrying-out of counter-insurgency operations in the BRD, W.Europe,

Near East, Afrika, against the anti-imperialists and liberation movements. This involves, for example, concrete groundwork to prepare for US military intervention.

The security services are involved in a practical sense in the research, development and practice of the so-called 'Weissen Folter' (White persecution), the interrogation methods, the high security measures which are used as a means to fight the resistance.

The Military Intelligence Detachment is part of the US security services. As a special section within the army, it has similar responsibilities to the units which carry out surveillance, that is, various activities to do with information-gathering and spying: e.g. telephone tapping, interference with the post, observation of people, and preparation of counter-insurgency operations, to guarantee the security and operational capacity of the US army. In the BRD and MID is not openly active. The police force is sufficiently sophisticated to do most of its dirty work. The MID functions in a supportive role in the background and concerns itself principally with planning, and creating the means whereby it could intervene, if this became necessary.

**Resistance is attack.**

**Destroy NATO, destroy the state, destroy the counter-insurgency apparatus.**

**Rights of association for the RAF and resistance prisoners.**

**The struggle in the centres of power is in solidarity with the Third World liberation movements.**

**We must transform the struggle for our own survival into the vanguard of the revolution.**



## NATO Pipeline Blitzed

Communique

*"We believe that the dialectic of revolutionary struggle is stronger than the imperialist doctrine of strong tactics."*

(from the hunger strike declaration of the RAF prisoners, 4.12.84)

Against the "imperialist doctrine of strong tactics": that means, with the dialectic of revolutionary struggle, we oppose: the war preparation of imperialist capital, the development and organisation of the counter-revolution, worldwide, in Latin America, Asia, Africa, W. Europe, the unification of the system of repression in Europe under the leadership of the Federal Republic of Germany and France, and the torture of imprisoned communists in the imperialist prisons.

Tonight we attacked and destroyed the NATO pipeline at Erda.

This attack is a practical demonstration of our solidarity with the prisoners on hunger strike in Turkey and the BRD. The Turkish prisoners led the revolutionary struggle for communism against the "NATO-democratisation" in Turkey, and now continue the struggle from the torture cells of the NATO prisons against the same enemy which the revolutionary prisoners of the RAF and the resistance are fighting through their hunger-strike — the multi-national capital and its military organisation, NATO.

**Unity in the struggle of the anti-imperialist front**

**Solidarity with the political prisoners in the NATO prisons**

**War on imperialist war**

**Rights of association for the RAF and resistance prisoners and all prisoners in political struggle.**

**For communism**

8th January 1985

## Action Directe ~ RAF

**Communique — For the unity of revolutionaries in Western Europe.**

We believe that it is now both necessary and possible to open up a new phase in the development of revolutionary strategy in the imperialist centres, and as a precondition for this qualitative leap, to create an international organisation for the proletarian struggle in the centres of power. The nucleus of this, both politically and militarily, are the West European guerrillas.

We have determined that this must be the next step for the following reasons; that, following the rift in the international balance of power made by the liberation movements in the South, W. Europe has become central in imperialist reconstruction; that the clash between growing productive capacity and the limits of world markets has led to a global crisis in political, economic, and military terms for the chain of imperialist states, and taken hold of the whole imperialist system. Also there have been the experiences of the last few years, in which armed revolutionary politics has taken a hold in the centres of power and developed new struggles at the points of conflict between imperialism and the struggle for liberation, experiences from which a conscious, collective discussion about revolutionary strategy and tactics in the centres of power has

grown, and now poses the question of how this is to be realised within a communist perspective in Western Europe.

In other words:

because of the facts of a united imperialist strategy, the aim of the communist guerrillas in W. Europe, in order to realise their historical mission in the struggle against imperialism, must be:

*Discussion of the revolutionary political line which will make solidarity possible in the offensive against the imperialist machine;*

*The practical process of developing proletarian politics in the centres of power which will co-ordinate the revolt against the daily and universally experienced destructiveness of the imperialist system into a dialectical movement and build up the political/military front in western Europe into a section of the world wide war between proletariat and imperialist bourgeoisie;*

*Clear and open orientation towards collective attack, with the aim of breaking imperialist strategy in the centre itself, because from here they build up the economic and military power to secure their global domination.*

The central project in the current phase of imperialist strategy is the aim to bring together the European states into a homogeneous structure, a block, in which NATO is fully



integrated as the progressive nucleus of the power structure.

The bourgeoisie is re-asserting itself through this political/economic/military structure in order to combat the liberation movements, to stem their tide against all nationally or economically determined contradictions which indicate an opposite development. This is done:

through absolute power, which permeates all social relationships; through using war as a solution to the overall crisis; militarily — abroad, through the capacity for a war of extermination against the liberation movements of the South, causing setbacks to the victorious peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa, and through the concrete preparation for war against the socialist states of Eastern Europe.

The "new NATO doctrine" is nothing other than an offensive strategy, in which the European states are bound up in the defense of the American military machine — for a war on all fronts they need the concentration of power and all means. — the stationing of atomic weapons is only one factor, if a decisive one, in this strategy.

The reactivation of the WEU, the build up of the FAR in France, the co-operation over armaments of the European states, including France, the discussion about German dual control over the Force de Frappe and its inclusion in NATO, and lastly, the open intention of NATO to intervene against the Third World, are all concrete steps towards this military re-formation.

— at home, there is immediate reaction to any antagonistic elements, and prevention of any possibility for building up a revolutionary force in the centres of power which could seriously affect this strategy. Counter-insurgency, as an integral part of the State politics of the imperialists, determines the outlook here, and is a condition which all revolutionaries must face up to and take into account.

— economically, the aim is to bring European industry under the absolute domination of US capital, and to concentrate research and production in the areas which are strategically useful:

new technology, electronics, weapons;

to secure the position of the imperialist block (USA, Japan, W.Europe) and the conditions for the realisation of the capital investment of the multi-nationals, worldwide.

The concept is:

the war economy as a means of weathering the crisis.

The pillars of capitalist domination and ideology in the centres of power, "prosperity", "social order", "the right to work" have already been broken down in the brutality of the measures for reconstruction: exclusion of millions of people from the process of production through industrial re-organisation on a world scale, introduction of robots, etc. It is clear that for people here that means more exploitation, misery and mass manipulation through the dominant ideology and social control.

The imperialist states, faced with substantial instability and the increasing loss of legitimacy, can only continue to demonstrate their capacity to dominate. They are now confronted with the fact that they no longer have even a passive consensus in favour of their measures. The other side of this however is that as a result of the antagonism which is growing world wide through the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples against imperialism; this has now become the ground on which the offensive of proletarian power in Western Europe can become a decisive factor in bringing this crisis in the system to a head.

The attacks on the multinational structure of NATO, on its bases, strategies, plans and propaganda, were the first great mobilisation in the building of a proletarian political strategy in Western Europe, under these changed political conditions — a mobilisation which is developing further and strengthening into a struggle against the system of exploitation and war. Events in Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Greece, France, the BRD, attest to this.

Against all ideological debates and abstract programmes "about internationalism", we say;

The strategy of the European guerrillas is —

in direction — a part and function of the international class war. In practice — political unity of the Western European communists, organisation of the attack on the totality of the imperialist system. The material transformation of proletarian internationalism which the situation now demands.

Authentic revolutionary strategy in Western Europe will unfold itself through the attack on the central aims of the imperialists, through the collectivity and coherence of those who are fighting, depending on their particular situation and possibilities.

Unity!

which, destroying imperialist structures, creates room for the growth of proletarian consciousness and power.

The West European guerrillas will destroy the centre of imperialism!

Action Directe/Rote Armee Fraktion. January 1985.



POUR L'UNITE  
DES REVOLUTIONNAIRES  
EN EUROPE DE L'OUEST

FÜR DIE EINHEIT  
DER REVOLUTIONÄRE  
IN WESTEUROPA



JANVIER. JANUAR 85

## Johannes Thimme

On 20th January 1985 Johannes Thimme died while carrying out an action. Claudia Wannersdorfer was wounded in action and is now under arrest and in solitary confinement.

The action was part of the campaign for the demands of the RAF and resistance prisoners, it is not to be separated from the hunger strike of the political prisoners, it is a part of all the actions which have taken place recently in Western Europe, and it is also part of the demonstration here, because we are carrying out the fight against imperialism on all levels. For us the different levels of the struggle form a dialectical unity.

Johannes Thimme's story is part of the history of the revolutionary struggle of the last ten years. For four and a half of those years he was in prison. He fought for ten years, that was the main thing. Ten years of struggle means ten years of contradictions, the high points and lows in yourself being resolved in political action. He never felt things were beneath him, was never the type to remain in the background, and joined in wherever people were involved in a practical break with imperialism. He was always quick on the uptake, understanding the nature of this break for himself and others, how to deepen it, and from it to make a leap forwards, he was always learning about what had to be done.

In the end he chose a militant action for himself, because he wanted to do it, because he wanted to make a step forward for himself, and with this for the whole process of revolutionary development. It was clear to him that the break with the system, the attack on it, could not be brought about by talking, but depended on the decision of the individual, from which collective action would grow.

Johannes Thimme is not the first who has died on our side, and wil not be the last.



Johannes Thimme

When in 1980 Juliane Plambeck and Wolfgang Beer died Johannes said that the grief of losing two comrades must give us the strength for new action –

This is our own feeling too –

Long live the revolution.

## RAF Prisoners Speak

*The following report, smuggled out of Celle prison (JVA Celle, Trift 14, Celle 1, BRD), refers to the situation of four political prisoners (all members of the RAF) held in a special isolation unit: Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Knut Folkerts, Lutz Taufer, and Andreas Vogel (ex-2nd June Movement). The terrible conditions endured by these comrades, which this document draws attention to, helps to explain the many solidarity actions, carried out in support of the political prisoners during their long hunger-strike, by the armed resistance groups outside.*

### Anarchy Collective

#### Prisoners' report on the situation in Celle prison.

- Since 12th January 1985 the doctors come every day. The prison doctor Hertting and, since the hunger strike started, another, Seiler. Also, now and again two doctors from the Hannover medical school, Siebert and Wagner.
- Since 16th January the screws open the flap on the spyhole in the door and look in.
- 18th January the first forced weighing of prisoners.
- 18th January an emergency unit is being set-up in the prison sanitorium.
- 19th January light-terror at night now as well – often all the lights are put on, three neon strips.
- 21st January after a threat to destroy the neon lighting if the night-time torture with the lights didn't stop, they stop it. Instead the flap on the spyhole is opened and shut so loudly that you wake up anyway.

– 22nd January second forced weighing.

– 23rd January Knut and Karl-Heinz are forcibly taken to see the two University doctors in the sanitorium.

Since the first week of January all cards written in solidarity/telegrams etc. are withheld from us.

Because the glass partitions were removed in December, we are strip-searched before and after lawyers' visits. The screws can also, therefore, keep an eye on how much weight we are losing the whole time.

– Since 22nd January no more access to the exercise yard. It had been cut before this anyway.

– 24th January. Since yesterday, daytime control through the spyhole in the door. If you doze off they bang on the door or open it.

#### 22nd January.85 Second forced weighing.

About 10.25 a.m. the forced weighing started, and was over by eleven. It started with Karl-Heinz, then Knut, then Andreas at about 10.45, then Lutz last.

This time they came through both doors. Engelhardt didn't say anything at first about doctors' orders but only, "weighing – voluntary or forced?" Me: "Nothing's going to happen voluntarily round here". Immediately Oper, Kellerman and four others got hold of me, grabbed my arm, twisted me round and got me in a headlock. I struggled and kicked but was quite weakened already and they lifted me up quite easily, grabbed hold of my legs. Through the door, onto the forced feeding chair. I defended myself and tried to stop them strapping me down. They pulled my arms behind my back and handcuffed them, this time a lot tighter than the first time. The handcuffs



Andreas Vogel



Karl-Heinz Dellwo



Lutz Tauffer

cut into me badly and it really hurt. They tightened the belt really tight. In the prison hospital the chair was put on the scales. Again, no health officer or doctor was present. Engelhardt did the weighing. I try and move about, but they hadn't set the scales yet, they wanted to wait till I was worn out first. Then back, unstrapped, and thrown onto the bed. I was totally worn out, and it was an hour before I recovered.

**23rd January Knut forcibly made to see the doctors.**

10.15 a.m. Engelhardt and four screws came into the cell. I was in bed. "You're to go to the doctors from the University clinic." I said I wouldn't. Engelhardt gave the raiding squad a signal. I defended myself by kicking, they pulled the blanket off me, two got hold of my feet, two pulled me up by my arms. Outside the cell the two let go of my legs, the other two

grabbed me brutally by the arm — which is now just bones, nerves and veins — which really hurt badly, and dragged me in bare feet 50 metres through the prison. It was very brutal the way they were tearing at my arms and this went on as I was dragged over iron girders, round corners, past the forced feeding chair, to the room where they had set up the emergency unit in the last few days. There they threw me into a chair where I collapsed exhausted. The two doctors from the Hannover University clinic, Siebert and Wagner, stood in front of me looking arrogant.

They said that the forced weighing had established that my life was in danger. I shouted at them; what did they mean, my life was in danger, dragging me here by this raiding party. They denied any responsibility for this. They maintained they wanted to save my life. I said, "You know my standpoint, there's no more to discuss, you can go to hell. I won't keep repeating myself. The whole thing is just physical terror". To which Wagner said, "If you simply repeat your point of view all the time we have to assume that you are no longer capable of making a free choice in the matter."

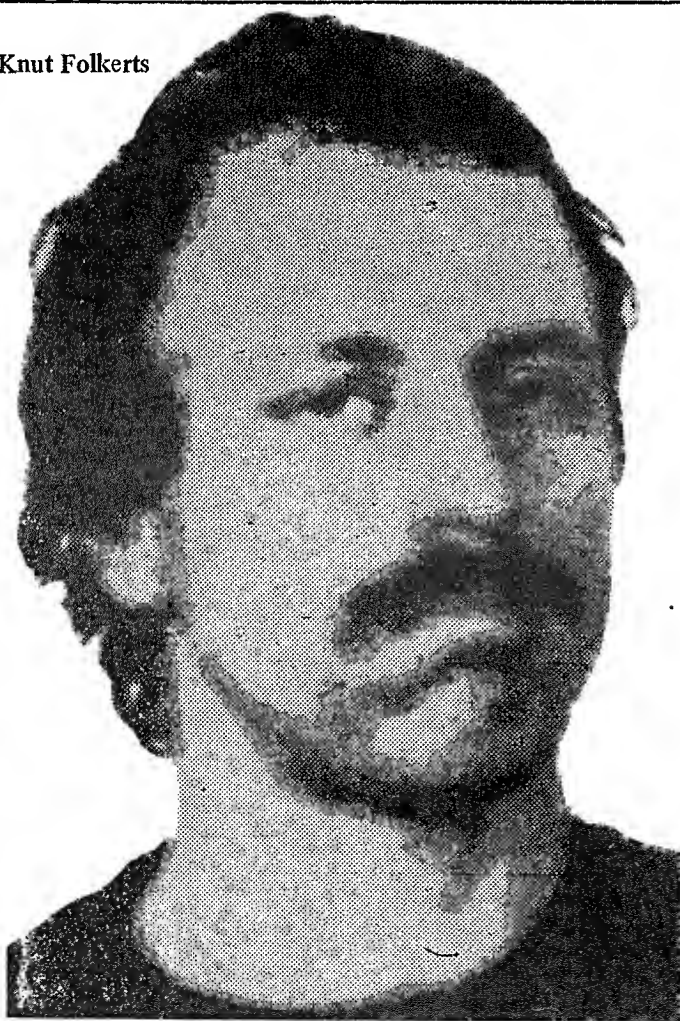
They then tried to take advantage of my exhaustion, I grabbed hold of them and said that they wouldn't have any success with all their pissing me about, their calculations were a complete waste of time. I pulled myself together and got out — outside the screws were waiting in a half circle. At a nod of the head from Engelhardt they grabbed hold of me and started to pin me into the forced feeding chair, but then left off after a bit. The two doctors stood there gawping. I dragged myself back into my cell with what energy I had left, escorted by the screws. My heart was racing. In the cell I fell into bed, felt a lot weaker than before, all day. After this, observation every ten minutes through the spyhole, banging on the door, etc.

**23rd January.85 Karl Heinz taken to see the doctors against his will.**

About 10.30 both cell doors opened. In came Engelhardt, the chief scrow and several others. Engelhardt: "The prison and university doctors want to see you in their room, are you coming of your own free will or have I to use force?" Me: "Get lost, I refuse — I'll defend myself against force." At this Engelhardt gave the order to drag me forcibly to the prison sanatorium, and two screws jumped on me, twisted my arms behind my back and tried to drag me across the floor, shoved me up against the doorframe, which was as far as they got, because I resisted. Then another two got hold of my legs and dragged me outside and into the separate part of the prison which is supposed to be a hospital and where the forced feeding always used to take place. Then the following happened:

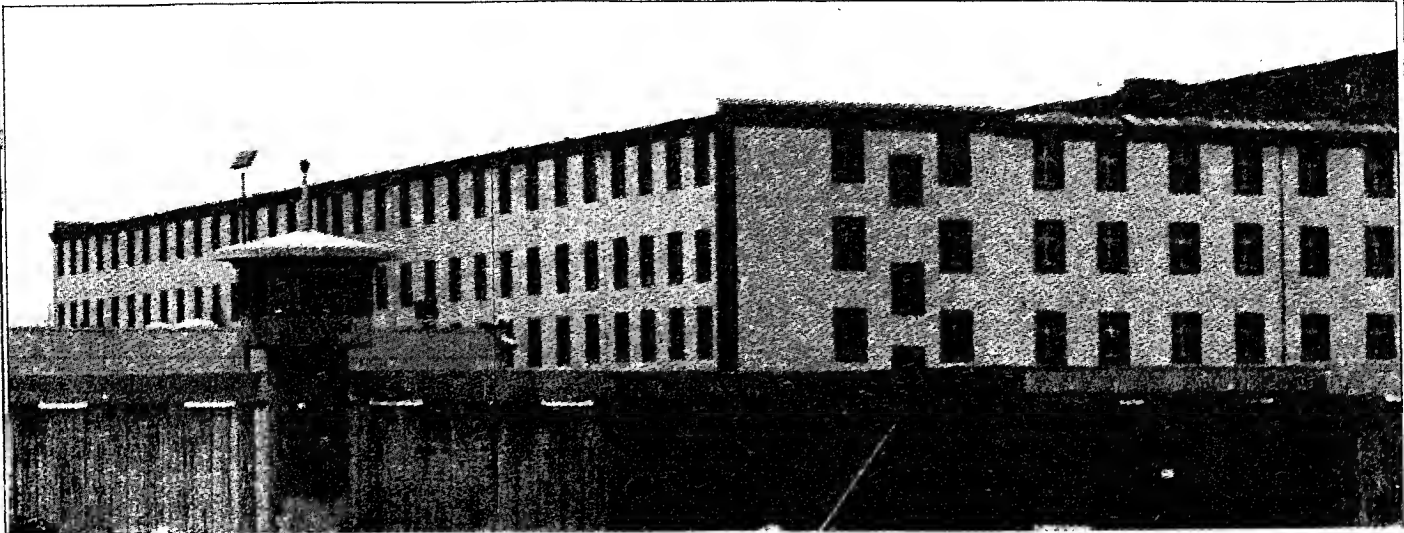
In the big room Siebert and Wagner from the Hannover medical school were standing, the prison doctors weren't

Knut Folkerts



there. Dragged in by the screws despite my protests, after 50 days of hunger strike, I yelled at Siebert, called him a dirty fascist, said I wanted to go back at once and kept on resisting the screws. I was totally wound up and practically exhausted, was so full of hate though, that I was still able to defend myself by pushing and kicking, but naturally couldn't do much against the violence of the screws who held me by my legs and with my arms twisted behind me. Their hold was very painful because I haven't much muscle left, and my whole back ached. At the same time they held me so that I was practically horizontal, face down so that I had to strain to look up. My trouser legs were pushed up, my shirt hanging out, everything intended to be degrading for me. Engelhardt had left the room just after I was dragged in there, but was standing outside with the rest of the screws — the door was open. Siebert stood in front of my legs, his left hand supporting his right elbow, chin resting on his right hand, and looked at me shouting and defending myself as if it was a human experiment. Then he cynically came out with the remark 'We want to offer you aour medical help again.' He let me go

on shouting and struggling for about another four minutes, then went to Engelhardt and I said, "This is pointless, take him back." At this the screws dragged me from the room and back into the other part of the prison, stood me up in the corridor and were about to march me back into my cell, but I got free of them and went back in, totally exhausted. In the cell I threw myself on the bed because I couldn't stand up. After about 20 minutes I checked my pulse rate — still 108/min. I was totally worn out fo hours. My whole body ached. These measures today were nothing short of plain terror. In bringing us (Knut was brought along as well) to see a doctor and offering us "medical help", they consciously allowed us to be seriously mistreated and put us in real danger, because confrontations like these bring you near to collapse — which is probably what they want, so that the process is deliberately accelerated. After that the screws tormenting went on — at first observation every couple of minutes, then every ten minutes — later once an hour — which shows that they were well aware what a dangerous condition they had put us into through their violence.



*Prison in Celle, West Germany where some RAF Prisoners are incarcerated*

## Communique

### The Action Against Zimmerman

With the Patsy O'Hara commando we shot the president of the BDLI (German Confederation of air and space travel and defence industries) and MTU boss, Ernst Zimmerman.

In...this attack against the pillars of imperialist power in the BRD/Western Europe, we are taking a stand in this worsening crisis, determining which way it will go, and that it will be resolved through an offensive of the liberation movement. The basis on which the European proletariat will build itself up into a class fighting for a transformation of the relationships of the system of production, is the struggle for the indivisibility of the revolutionary front, the organisation of the class struggle throughout Western Europe. The W.European guerrilla will destroy the centre of imperialist power.

RAF

1.2.85



## Zusammen Kämpfen

*Zeitung für die ant imperialistische Front in Westeuropa*  
April 85

Nr. 2



Hungerstreik -  
Westeuropäische Front - Interview mit der RAF -  
Revolutionärer Kampf in Westeuropa ...

**vervielfältigen - weitergeben !**



## RAF Calls Off Hunger Strike

To the imprisoned revolutionaries.

We ask you to stop the hunger strike. It has achieved all that it is likely to in terms of political mobilisation. Our experience is that the anti-imperialist front has not evolved, on a political, practical, or organisational level, to the point where it is able to put limits on the destructive interests of the state.

The calculated policy of the State prosecutors has changed the situation radically. In trying to eliminate the political cadre, and to solve the problem that the prisoners will not give up the struggle, they have adopted the US-style hard line, and will stop at nothing. They can only be overthrown by us and the militants...

RAF

2.2.85



Andreas Vogel, RAF prisoner on hungerstrike

## RZ: It Makes You Sick

The 13th February 1985 issue of TAZ published a so-called statement of the RZ on the hunger strike. Everyone knows that the RZ seldom gives statements (Exceptions in the last few years being: *Revolutionary Anger*, *the Beethoven Paper*,\* *Discussion Paper on the Peace Movement*). This was not a statement from the RZ; we hope that it was a product of the State Security, but can't exclude the possibility that someone looking for attention used the initials to give his or her opinion some weight in the media, or that someone from one of the various resistance groups is totally mad.

1. The critique in this paper is false and opportunistic. To criticise the shooting of Audran and Zimmerman on the grounds that no-one was particularly pleased about their deaths is the stupidest of all criticisms, and is moreover, incorrect. The development of Imperialism depersonalises, reifies power relationships, makes them unidentifiable to the individual through a technological, abstract and anonymous structure. Direct power is exercised by restricted, subordinate gnomes, but it is the invisible, unknown, posh, educated people behind the desks, managers, chairmen of boards of directors who are responsible! Aside from any discussion about the timing, form, morality and political aims of RAF and Action Directe operations, the fact is that they hit two people who were responsible for the militarisation of Europe, in a way that few others are.

If the writers of the article prefer other candidates to be the object of an attack, why don't they get on and do it? And if this is the case, then it wouldn't be the walking corpse and old Nazi Redner who ought to go, who simply represents a past historical form of authority, but the young Austrian minister of defence, who by receiving this Fascist, mass-murderer, unteachable even after 40 years, is placing himself within this tradition.

It may also be the case that given different hunger strike demands, more prisoners would have joined the hunger strike. That is not our problem. We respect the action of nearly 40 prisoners. We are in solidarity when prisoners try to defend themselves.

The countless militant actions which happened concurrently with the hunger strike were motivated in various ways and were carried out within a wide and diffuse spectrum. That was both a strength and a weakness. Again, it is not our problem if the propaganda of the State Security forces, against their better knowledge, attributes all these to the RAF. However, they are not on our slate either.

To call the collective actions of the RAF and Action Directe a "pretext for a new stage in German and French internal militarisation" — what is this? It is a widely accepted experience of mass-movements and armed initiatives since the mid-sixties, that the apparatus of the state carries out national and supra-national preventative counter-revolution, that it needs no pretexts but on the contrary, acts with gusto at every opportunity to force through its projects of internal militarisation and "national security", to forge ahead in the drive to identify, encircle, intimidate, integrate or persecute potential resistance groups. That resistance can in that respect lead to repression, well everyone knows that.

2. The function of this article as a so-called RZ statement can only be to cause splits, disorientation, and to discredit us. It serves the aims of the state and the political opponents of revolutionary politics. It could, of course have come from the school of counter-insurgency. No-one need maintain that an "open discussion" is necessary. These discussions are happening all the time, if not exactly in the headlines. The political differences between the RAF and RZ do not express themselves in newspaper articles, or through decrees in which we distance ourselves from our common enemy, but, since 1973 we have been attempting to work out a new social revolutionary strategy in a practical way through forms of armed struggle. This is the real issue, not throwing shit at friends who, in this terrible country, are closer to us than most others.

3. It is a low, mean thing to try and suggest that our verbal and practical inactivity in the last few months was a political decision. Some people from the RZ have taken part in actions about the hunger strike. We were engaged in the preparation of actions but didn't take part for various reasons — not being happy with the objectives, uncertainty about the way the hunger-strike was going, and practical problems. It was suggested that there is a "social-revolutionary project" of the RZ militant groups. That would be good — in practice however we have discussed for years without yet developing a project of this kind, which would provide a practical and theoretical answer to the crisis in society and revolutionary strategy.

A group from the 'Traditional Union' of the RZ

18.2.85

## RZ Attacks

The Revolutionary Cells give reasons for series of attacks.

*Statement from the RZ on the bomb attacks in Dusseldorf and Koln, on the Deutsche Bank, the Confederation of the Metal Industry, and Hoechst.*

It is both ironical and significant that on the 1st May, the unions called together their unprotected clientele to celebrate Labour Day in a festive and fighting spirit, but the following day, almost before the sound of the speeches had died away, the Capitalists of the World, united, were celebrating in a victorious mood the height of their economic power.

The capitalists who were meeting could be satisfied that, particularly of late, they have made gains on several fronts in the class war. What was won by a 100 years of proletarian class struggle, doggedly and with great courage, is being destroyed with unbelievably bold and sweeping measures, its substance being perverted and smashed-in. Capital is on the offensive — and how!

And at the bottom? Lack of guidance, and confusion, even over the basic ideas. Thus, behind the "growing mass of socially powerless, the new poor" we find none other than the classic figure of the proletarian, who is merely being decked out with new German terminology. It is quite evident, however that this much remains the same, even today, the proletarians have nothing to sell but their labour.

Farewell to the proletariat? Don't make us laugh! Despite many new names nothing basic has changed. We are still caught up in the same, unresolved class struggle.

The foremost protagonists in this struggle are: the banks, especially the Deutsche Bank, which in boards of trustees and directors, decides over the availability of investment and credit facilities, and thus directs the restructuring of relationships in production, and through the weapon of debt repayment schedules, bleeds the Third World economically, while crushing it politically.

The Confederation of the Metal Industry, as the most powerful faction of capital, In the area of wages policy it is setting the trend in a change to a qualitatively new and severely intensified era of exploitation.

After a more flexible and effective use of labour is established, the next thing will be to abolish Saturdays as a day off.



The Deutsche Bank in Dusseldorf after a visit from the RZ.

The chemical industry (Hoechst), which through its complete control over the world's nutrition, decides not only what will be produced, how, but also to whom, and therefore has a direct influence on the structural relationships of the system of oppression. Their influence on the living conditions of the people of the whole world is second to no other industry. They own people's bodies, make them ill, kill them. This Moloch has been impervious to all criticism up to now. Its profits continue to explode, like its gas tanks.

Revolutionary Cells

28.4.85

Folios toward

# The Anarchist Encyclopædia

The Anarchist Encyclopædia (ISSN 0267-6141)

Monograph 1:

*Civil War & Civil Peace: Libertarian Aragon 1936-37*, Graham Kelsey.

Cambridge, November 1985, 80pp. (Individual copy £2.00, inc. p+p)

(General Editor: Stuart Christie)

Subscription Rates: 2 Years, £45.00/\$90.00.

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## Civil War & Civil Peace: Libertarian Aragon 1936-37

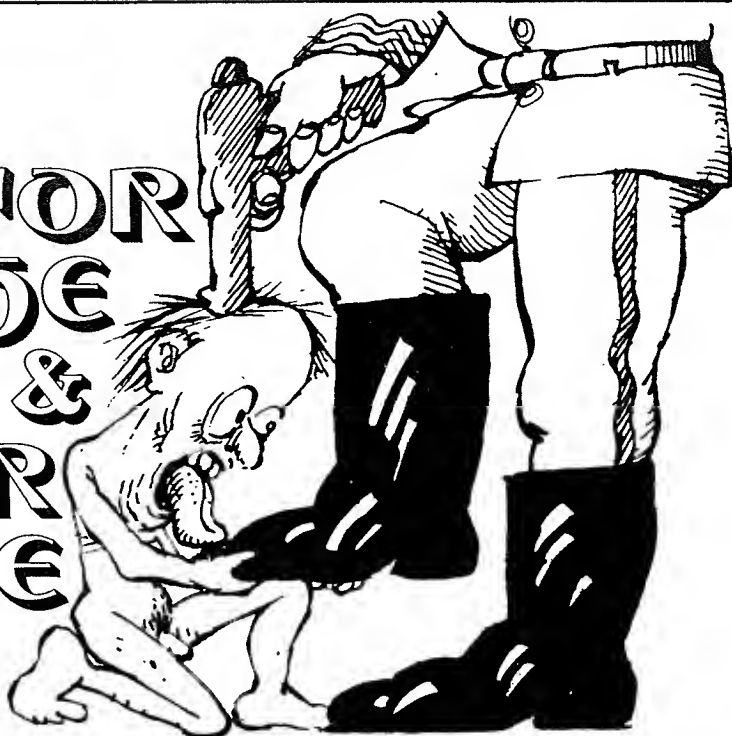
Graham Kelsey

On 12 April 1931 the people of Spain went to the polls. The political upheaval which followed constituted the Spanish bourgeois revolution. The inability of the victors to translate it into social and economic terms alienated their working class support completely. In this failure to effect genuine social and economic reform lay the seeds of the resulting civil war. That conflict, however, was to offer those who did have the necessary energy and courage the opportunity of promoting real change. In the region of Aragon, in particular, village trade unionists succeeded in laying the foundations of a new truly democratic society, creating civil peace even in the midst of civil war.

The national elections to the Cortes, held at the start of 1936, had constituted for liberal-republicans and their socialist political allies an opportunity to put the clock back some five years when the Spanish Second Republic had been created upon a wave of widespread support and popular enthusiasm. Certainly the aspirations and expectations first aroused at the Republic's birth in April 1931 were in the new government from among its working class supporters, beginning to appreciate as Vicente Ballester had insisted in Zaragoza in January that they could expect nothing from such politicians, (1) had begun to develop quite markedly. Moreover, working class awareness and thus demands for social and economic improvement, which had in 1931 been primarily urban in context, was in 1936 increasingly rural as well. This reflected firstly, the

# NOTES FOR THE ANARCHY & ORDER BRIGADE

Richard Livermore



One of the main arguments used against anarchism is that an anarchist society would have no means of coercion to guarantee order and that, therefore, it will break down into disorder. Indeed the word anarchy itself which simply means without government has come to be synonymous with chaos. Yeats expressed this confusion most eloquently when he wrote:

*"Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold;  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,  
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere  
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;  
The best lack conviction, while the worst  
Are full of a passionate intensity.*

(The Second Coming)

Moving beyond one poet's paranoia, what is the truth of anarchy? Is it truly a state of affairs in which things fall apart, and the centre cannot hold? Yeats, like Eliot and Pound, was a 'civilised gentleman', a 'civilised gentleman' being precisely a man who has assimilated the gentlemanly traditions of the civilisation upon which he was nurtured, traditions which bring order to his life. It is inevitable that when this civilised tradition is threatened, those who were nurtured on it feel threatened also. The 'disorder' of a changing society provokes a very real disorder within the adherents of that society, and the impression of things falling apart, and the centre not holding is simply a symptom of the disorder within. What was actually happening at the social level was not at all what Yeats was experiencing, but rather what the participants in the revolutionary process felt, the emergence of a new fusion, along with a new order which replaces the old. It was with good reason that the 'best' (those with whom Yeats could identify because they were, like him, 'civilised gentlemen') lacked all conviction (the poor dears were really just disoriented, and thus had somehow mislaid their conviction) while 'the worst' — the 'uncivilised ungentepeople' who alone had the energy and cause to change things — were full of a passionate intensity.

The word anarchy then is an extremely value-laden word. Unfortunately, the values of the rulers of our society are the values of our society, and it is thus obvious why the word anarchy should have such negative connotations for the ruled who are, on the whole people whose energies are too taken up with securing the means of life to investigate the truth of the words they are fed.

Yet, whether in a revolutionary situation things fall apart or not depends upon where you stand in relation to a society which is breaking up in one place only because it is coming together in another. Anarchy will thus not be experienced in the same way by the rulers and the ruled alike, especially if the latter have reached the stage where they have begun to throw off the shackles of the former. From their point of view, anarchy will mean liberation, freedom from repression, self-activity. It will mean the creation of a free-space for themselves which gives them room to order their lives collectively in a way which they think appropriate.

From this point of view, a revolution in the West today would create more anarchy, much more, than any revolution in the past. Does this mean that it would create more disorder? I don't think so. In fact, I think it would create more order, rather than less, because it would remove obstacles — the law, the State, the moneyed economy, representative government — which stand in the way of people coming together on the ground to find appropriate fora in which they can collectively determine their lives. In this essay, I want to look at what would happen if people did remove these obstacles in a revolutionary situation, and decided to do without any state institutions. That the approach is, from a sociological point of view, methodologically dodgy, doesn't bother me. It requires us thinking in terms of an imaginative synthesis, rather than empirical analysis, and thus moving into some pretty unverifiable, (and thus also unfalsifiable) areas of thought.

Before attempting this, however, I would like to look at a related question. In a non-revolutionary age such as ours, we are able to look around us and detect not only apathy, but, more often than not, outright hostility to the whole idea of revolutionary change in our society. We might be justified in believing that this state of affairs doesn't auger very well for the emergence of a revolutionary consciousness taking root in such an apparently inauspicious soil. But before we dismiss the revolutionary potential of the people completely, we should, I believe, ask what this apathy and hostility consists of, and whether or not it is possible to address it on a much more fundamental level. We should also ask whether or not enough has been done either in theory or practice to address it, and whether or not we have just used this apathy and hostility as an excuse with which to rationalise our own discouragement and inaction, while finding confirmation in the one-dimensional theories of pessimists like Marcuse.

The question of hope is so vital that a writer, no matter how valid her/his insights, who is unable to encourage it, has no business pretending to be doing something useful. And the first thing that needs to be said about the apathy and hostility of the 'masses' towards revolutionary ideas is that they are part and parcel of a protective persona which people adopt precisely because they have no hope. The pain of being without hope is too often hard to bear, and apathy and hostility can help to mask this pain. They are also a reaction against the false dawns which have disillusioned them in the past, including the false dawn of state socialism, for an example of which they need only look towards the Soviet Union. It is for this reason that we have to understand that the generation of real hope has to involve a truly creative synthesis rather than the constant repetition of *deja vu* solutions which take us nowhere. Socialists are no more capable of working through this synthesis than capitalists; and their weakness on this point seems to me to be instinctively grasped by the very 'masses' they wish to convince.

Hope requires something more than the clichés and slogans with which the left generally bombard 'the masses'. It requires a vision of the future which can generate a belief in the possibility of the impossible — as it is now subjectively experienced by 'the masses'. Criticism of a system which everybody experiences in their very conditions of life as shitty is not enough. I believe that we tend to rely on the fact that the system will simply break down of its own accord, and that circumstances alone will show 'the masses' the way forward to solutions which haven't changed substantially for over a century. The left believes that the only work it has to do is educational, that the condition for advance is good leadership and very little else. Things can get as bad as you want them to get, and as long as you are unable to generate entirely new forms of hope, apathy will persist, and the protective hostility of the 'masses' will generate a reactionary rather than revolutionary consciousness. That is why a totally new imaginative vision is required; and only anarchism can provide this vision.

What would happen if the State was dissolved? Assuming, as we must, that the condition for this dissolution was the coming together of revolutionary communities into revolutionary forms of social organisation based on the popular assembly, we can also assume that the popular will would exist to provide the initial impetus to get the new society off the ground. It will of course not be perfect, and will learn by a protracted process of trial and error, but the actual popular enthusiasm for the new society, like the parents' enthusiasm for their new-born child, will be sufficient to ensure that it gets a good start in life. After all, the creation of such a society would amount to an investment of hope, and it is, therefore, very unlikely that the people would be persuaded to abandon this investment without a struggle.

I would like to ask what would happen once the revolutionary people, through the forum of popular assemblies, collectively decided that from there on they would dissolve the state-apparatus, and turn the popular assemblies into the sole forum through which to organise society. What would happen, for instance, if money was abolished, and the economy was organised by federated assemblies?

First of all, since we must assume that such a move would have popular support, we must also assume that the majority were in good faith, and were resolved to see the whole business through — to work as well as run the economy. This I believe can be taken as read because the very absorption of the people in the revolutionary process as a social process in which they not only participate in creating a new society, but also express and fulfill themselves as gregarious beings for whose coming together the revolution will have become a pretext, will require a commitment to work without which a dimension of gregariousness would be absent. The lack of economic compulsion will be more than compensated by the fact that work will have become not an isolated part of our lives, expressing our

alienation, but part and parcel of our whole social being, which itself will have become assimilated to the realm of play and gregariousness.

Now consider one or two other bonuses. The dissolution of the money-economy will also mean the dissolution of a huge sector of the economy, the sole function of which is to service the money-economy. This sector not only includes banks, insurance companies, and similar institutions, but also those enterprises involved in the wholesale and retail trades, and indeed at any interface where money changes hands. The dissolution of this sector would set free the labour it absorbs which, when re-absorbed in the rest of the economy, would lighten the work-load of those engaged in the more productive spheres.

Another bonus which would accrue to the revolutionary people from the dissolution of the money-economy, is that with the main incentive for crime disposed of, we could abolish the police, the courts, the prisons, indeed all the repressive apparatus of 'civil society' and the Law. This does not mean that crime will completely and automatically vanish. We should be more realistic than to believe that people will become angels overnight, and the revolutionary communities may still need to take their own measures to protect themselves, especially during the transitional stage. But the important thing will be the fact that an important arm of the State will have been dismembered, and the popular assemblies will have much more room to maneuver.

Of course, the armed forces would also have to be disbanded; and with their disbandment, even more sources of labour will be released to ease the workload of the rest of the population. This is not to say that the revolution will not need to be able to defend itself, only that the defence of the revolution will not need standing armies, navies, airforces, nuclear weapons, and, indeed, the whole armamentarium of the modern State, if the whole population were armed, and organised to wage a guerilla war against a possible invader. Potential invaders should take not only this into consideration, but also the state of affairs among their own people, and the fact that armed intervention would only exacerbate the social tensions at home where, it is almost certain, strategically important sections of the population will have become inspired with hope as a result of the revolution abroad. That the revolutionary people who are being attacked would be prepared to defend their revolution follows, in my opinion, from the fact of the investment of hope they would have already placed in the revolution. Thus we can, I believe, discount the notion that an anarchist revolution would not be able to defend itself. It would defend itself like a tigress defending her cubs.

Armies, navies and airforces, not to mention nuclear weapons, are predicated in most people's minds upon the assumption that the 'enemy' also has an army, navy and airforce. The idea that these can be jettisoned by multilateral agreements is contradicted by the fact that war, and preparedness for war is the health of the State, and the State is largely society organised for war. Each State maintains each other State in existence by their mutual preparedness for war, and by the arms build up each state is implementing. We, the people, are caught in a vicious spiral which only we can end, because, whatever the possibilities for unilateral nuclear disarmament, no State could countenance the idea of complete disarmament.

The only force that could break the spiral is, as I have said, a whole people who have unilaterally come together into federations of interdependent communities, negated the State, renounced its dependence upon armies, navies and airforces, along with its nuclear capability, and thus pulled the rug from under the feet of its would-be invaders and violators of its territorial integrity, through its unilateral action. Not only would such a people be an inspirational beacon for people all



over the world, it would have taken away any pretext for aggression against itself; and this, combined with the fact that it has a massive guerilla warfare potential (the most successful form of warfare this century), would be the first step in breaking the vicious spiral of the arms race which is, as every body realises, so wasteful and dangerous.

Some will no doubt talk of a dangerous destabilisation of the balance of power in the world. But, what is a destabilisation from one point of view is a stabilisation from another which will amount to a dissolution of the old military orders and power blocs whose moral *raison d'être* in the eyes of their own people will become progressively more suspect with every move they make to redress the situation in their favour. We cannot rely on nations to institute the reign of peace and security which the world so desperately needs to develop, only peoples can do this. They will only do this, however, by negating their states, and the whole concept of nation-hood, in order to come together in a world which would thereby become one indivisible community.

The people of the world have an ace up their sleeve which they aren't even aware of, and that ace is the potential of themselves, and their own forms of social organisation, their potential self-activity on a collective level in every sphere of social organisation, including defence against aggression as well as against crime, the economy and general social administration, and finally counter-revolution which may be launched against them by sections of the bourgeoisie in conjunction with other 'dispossessed' and disaffected elements within society.

The dissolution of the money-economy will destroy the economic base of bourgeois social and political power, and present the members of the bourgeoisie with a very stark choice. Either join the revolution, muck in with everybody else, liberate yourselves from the die-hard attitudes of the past which have so far stunted your growth and development, along with everybody else's, fulfill your gregarious instincts more completely than your way of life has so far allowed you to, participate in the whole creative activity which the revolution will have released, or wither in isolation, conspiring with others of your class without the economic means to implement your plans with the remnants of the 'best' who'll lack all conviction against the 'worst' who'll be full of a passionate intensity.

Members of the bourgeoisie, you have talents, gifts, qualities and experience which the revolution will find invaluable. You will not be rewarded for having these with any profits or privileges, since the principle of remuneration in the new society will be: From each according to her/his ability to each according to her/his needs, but you will be accorded respect, you will feel an important part of society, which doesn't mean society in the abstract, but of those around you who will make up your own social world, and you will be able to fulfill yourself on a much deeper level than you were able to within your own society in the past. The choice is yours; you can take it or leave it. Either you can grow with the new society, or you can reject this growth for the vain hope of a restoration.

As if all these factors weren't sufficient to make an anarchist revolution invincible, the economic needs of the revolutionary society would be further reduced by sheer virtue of the fact that the people's self-activity in the revolutionary process would more than fill the vacuum of everyday life under capitalism which was previously filled (if that's the right word) by consumer goods, and the mass media, as a vehicle which created the desire for these goods. In reality, neither the mass media nor the plethora of consumer durables successfully conceal the day to day desolation and boredom which is the lot of people who passively exist in a society which has taken all decision-making power away from them, and with this power the pretext of coming together and satisfying the gregarious and creative desires alienated within this society.

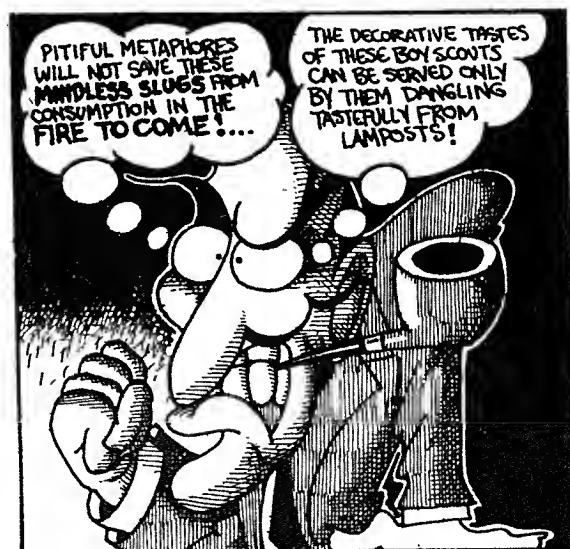
Once this happens, people will replace objects as the centre of our lives, and the energy will be released for collectively working through the problems of society. Along with this, much more time will be at hand for people to participate fully in the organisation of society. I cannot say how many hours of actual work will have to be done per week before each person has fulfilled their quota, but I do believe that it will not be too onerous, since this work will have become part of the wider social realm whose spirit will be rooted in play and gregariousness. It is my bet that much more time will be spent talking about the purpose of work, and the kind of new society we should build, not to mention whose turn is it for this, and whose turn is it to do that, than will be spent actually working, absurd as this might sound in a society that lives according to the lights of the work-ethic.

Ultimately, I believe that we should start talking about how to create a new physical environment for ourselves which is in harmony with the ecological needs of the planet as a whole; and this means de-urbanising society, and creating, what Murray Bookchin has chosen to call interdependent eco-communities. For, as Bookchin has, in my opinion, correctly observed, mass urban society today presents us with a refractory environment in which to prosecute an anarchist revolution to its conclusion. What Bookchin argues for is a society of eco-communities which integrate agriculture and manufacturing, utilising a decentralised technology in the process which will enable us to supply our needs while reducing toil to a minimum.

Will a life uncluttered by consumer goods be boring? Or will the slack be more than taken up by the fact that we will not only all be involved in society's collective administration, but also the fact that we will have more time for each other? Will a de-urbanised life-style, with a much more varied and organic work-schedule, become so parochial that it would seem like a to a former, much more constricting pre-urban age? Or will the slack be taken up by post-urban systems of communication and travel? These are questions which the future alone can settle for sure. But I believe I know where the answer lies.

So back once more to the question of order. Not Law and Order, but anarchy and order. I have no desire to pre-empt the reader's own conclusions, but can we really say that the order sustained by the State, the police, the judiciary, prisons, parliaments, armies, navies and airforces, not to mention nuclear weapons, help us to sleep at night more easily than a society which was devoid of these things? The answer, I believe, depends upon where you stand in the world. For that will determine how you will experience the 'mere' anarchy of what is, in reality, a new fusion and order.

Richard Livermore





# Book Reviews

## NEILL OF SUMMERHILL — THE PERMANENT REBEL

by Jonathan Croall (Routledge & Kegan Paul. £12.95. 436pp).

In some ways the life of A.S. Neill was very simple. He knew from his own childhood that children suffer from the usual Western upbringing, based as it was (and often still is) on a distortion of Christianity, featuring hell fire, the work ethic and moulding of the child's personality by adults who are themselves sexually repressed and not self-governing. Adults made children fear them; the children's natural goodness was not allowed to express itself, and society paid the consequences.

So Neill started his own private boarding school, independent of the state, in order to have the freedom to treat children as he felt they needed. For the last 49 years of his long life he ran Summerhill school in Leiston, Suffolk. He wrote about it (20 of his books were published in his lifetime), gave talks, appeared in the media, and answered questions of the hundreds of visitors who descended on the school. His books were translated into several languages, and various Summerhills were started up in the USA. Three universities gave him honorary degrees.

He had one central idea and devoted most of his life to demonstrating that his idea was right. His success is easy in some ways to measure. Many 'problem children' were sent to his school — and 'cured'. "...she was sent by London County Council as a problem, had tried suicide three times, face hard and voice harder, a model of hate all over. Anti-social for a year then a slow change, and after another year left a changed girl. Now at 20 she is soft and gentle and kind. Cases like that make my life well spent."

Countless people in many countries have been captivated by his books since the first one — *A Dominie's Log* — appeared in 1916. I remember as a student devouring his writings which seemed an answer to the problems caused by my childhood. It is clear from Croall's book that generations of dissatisfied people have felt the same; the repercussions of their reading Neill on their children, pupils,

colleagues and on themselves can only be imagined. It is widely agreed that infant and junior school in this country (if not secondary schools) are now more child-centred very much due to Neill's influence.

How did his ideas work in practice? One of his catch phrases was to be "*on the child's side*", an expression he owed to his first mentor, the American Homer Lane who achieved such dramatic results in his Little Commonwealth for young delinquents in Dorset. Children needed to feel approved of by adults; and this approval was sincere in Neill, once said to be the only educationalist who seemed not only to like but to love children. They needed to live in the maximum conditions of freedom, limited only by consideration for others, and only in a few matters (such as bedtime) by the judgement of adults. They should not be forced to go to lessons, nor to have adult culture imposed on them, nor to have to repress their sexuality (though for pragmatic reasons Neill did not officially allow them a full sex life). Laws were necessary in order to live together, but these should be made by the whole community, with adults abiding by the majority decision. The laws could be changed as often as needed. People breaking the laws were to be fined, but otherwise treated no differently from before. The emphasis was on tolerance, on understanding one's own and other people's reasons for actions, and on creativity; on sincerity and a quiet sort of happiness without the need to compete or continually to prove oneself.

Jonathan Croall has produced the first full biography of Neill and seems to have done a very competent job. With only the experience of two brief visits to Summerhill, I cannot judge whether he has achieved the right balance in his assessment of Neill's personality. Someone said to me, "*Croall doesn't seem to like Neill much*"; and as I read further into the book, I saw what she meant. There is a certain snidiness in his style — for instance, the chapter on Neill's daughter Zoe is called *The Problem Parent* (the title of one of Neill's own books); and, in connection with a visit by the school inspectors, "*he (Neill) even had the grace*

to say that the inspector's report was 'fair and generous'". (P.341).

The latter part of the book contains many examples of the contradictions and complications in Neill's personality and of how they affected his work and relationships. I began to feel disillusioned with Neill, my hero for so long, and resentful with the author for exposing these annoying aspects. Perhaps it is a sign of Croall's integrity that he risks unpopularity with the hero-worshippers in the cause of what presumably is truth. It is anyhow a good thing to have to face that your hero is human after all.

Croall also quotes many testimonies to Neill's genius and sincerity: "*I know of no other educator in the Western world to compare with Neill*" (Henry Miller); his practice with children was "*almost infallible*" (Willie Muir); Marjorie Proops, writing about Zoe as a little girl, found her to be "*happy, healthy and uncomplicated, mentally and physically in advance of many children of her age...a lovely lively creature, unself-conscious, never showing off.*" (Zoe had been raised along Summerhill/Reichian lines). The dreaded school inspectors wrote that "*the children are full of zest. Of boredom and apathy there was no sign. An atmosphere of contentment and tolerance pervaded the school...the children's manners are delightful...their friendliness, ease and naturalness, and their total lack of shyness and self-consciousness made them very easy, pleasant people to get on with...initiative, responsibility and integrity are all encouraged...*" Neill's brilliance as a story-teller also comes across, and he emerges as a loving and lovable person.

In many ways the book makes sad reading. Neill's difficulty in finding the right love relationship, and his sexless first marriage, meant that he did not achieve the sort of full relationship which he and Reich wished for their children and patients until he was over 60 when he married Ena Wood with whom he had Zoe. His first two spells of psychoanalysis with Homer Lane and Wilhelm Stekel, one of Freud's early disciples, did not get to him as did his work with Reich in the late 1930's. "*When Reich suggested that he was repressing a lot of hate and anger, Neill replied that he found it difficult to hate, and declined the suggestion that he should hit Reich to release some of this repressed anger. Then came a turning point, as Neill later related: 'Finally I got furious. I sat up and looked him in the eye. 'Reich', I said, 'I have just discovered something. I have discovered that I don't believe a bloody word you say. I don't believe in your muscle theory one bit. You are a sham'. I lay down on the sofa again, and Reich touched the back of my neck. 'Good Lord,' I said, 'the pain's gone.' 'Yes,' said Reich, and so has the stiffness.*"

After this treatment with Reich, Neill began a more active sex life. At the age of

57 he said to a former pupil, "Do you know, sex is a marvellous thing, I hadn't realised till now how lovely it is." This honesty is mirrored in Reich. Neill said, "I can't remember knowing so honest a guy as Willie."

The story of their friendship is touching and painful. Both were pioneers and lonely. "Reich, I said, 'you are the man I have been searching for for years.'" And Reich wrote, "You are one of the few to whom I can talk...when you left, there was quite a gap at Orgonon." Neill's proposed third visit to Reich in the USA in 1950 came to nothing as he was denied a visa on account of his "communist views". "More than ever I feel ALONE... In Orgonon the fact of being one of a crowd of people who are life-positive is enough to inspire, but here I never meet anyone with anything to give; they all want me to give to them. The result is that I dry up, exhausted." Their correspondence had, to Neill's sorrow, ended in an estrangement, Reich calling Neill "unreliable". Then in 1957 Reich died in prison.

Neill felt exhausted by Summerhill long before the end of his life and longed to do something different. Yet, "if I have to shut down I don't know how to live." Summerhill had become a prison for him; he needed it, yet felt for years that he had nothing new to say — his experiment had long since become a demonstration that "freedom works". The school had been the most important thing in his life and he was outstandingly tenacious in keeping it open despite major obstacles such as the war and financial hardship. Other pioneers such as Bertrand and Dora Russell at Beacon Hill school, left or closed down. Neill soldiered on, even when it felt a great burden; at 72 "I should retire, but know that if I did I'd die." It is lovely to read of his pleasure outside Summerhill: "I had a glorious

time in Newcastle, sort of Christ with scores of students being received by me". At 81 he was pleased when "today I have a letter from Robert Morley, saying he has arranged for us both to be on 'Juke Box Jury'. Says he must make me a TV star". He stuck Summerhill out, no doubt helped by all the publicity. His escape was in the rare moments when a visitor got into conversation about something other than children, psychology and education. He died peacefully just before he was 90, and the school continues under his wife and daughter, showing that its success did not depend on his continuing charisma.

Neill's story raises some important questions about social change and about the living of one's life within a society one wishes to transform. There is no doubt that he had a libertarian outlook, though the word 'anarchy' is mentioned in the book only to refer to chaos; and as an old man he wrote in a letter that he had never known what anarchism meant. Many of his staff and parents were Communist Party members, but Neill never joined up. He told one CP pupil, "I don't understand how you can be a Communist if you believe in freedom", and to another he wrote, "You must know that Summerhill couldn't possibly exist under Communism as it shapes today...see our kids salute any flag or portrait...I want Communism, i.e. a non-profit society plus what Summerhill stands for...independence of the individual". Yet Neill's life hardly included political action in the usual sense of the word. He helped a few people escape from Nazi Germany, and he went on one anti-Polaris demonstration. But unlike his fellow spirits Russell and Reich, he stayed in one main area of work, repeating the same ideas for most of his life. By doing this, he had much more influence upon educational ideas — especially on schools for 'maladjusted' children — than, for

example, the Russells with their much shorter-lived Beacon Hill. Although many teachers and parents even today have no idea what Summerhill is, and seem to have barely been touched by Neill's ideas, he has made an enormous impact and achieved an influence which very few people can claim in any sphere of life. Yet, as we have seen, this was to some extent at the expense of his own growth and happiness.

What political significance is there in producing a small number of people raised in free conditions? Croall carried out an informal survey of past pupils. They all had a 'live and let live' attitude, with a great ability to understand the faults of others. "If to understand is to forgive, this may in part explain why Summerhill pupils have not been noticeably active in trying to change the world." One said, "Summerhill people don't seem to be standing up for anything. They fit into society quite happily, and that worries me." Another said, "Summerhillians are interested in their own lives, their families and kids... rather inward-looking." It seems that they are a relaxed, fairly unneurotic bunch, self-contained, with no compulsion to overthrow the system — a few have gone into the 'caring professions' but Croall gives no word about their behaviour within these.

Because Neill refused to compromise about freedom for children, he felt forced to start his own private school (and unfortunately the book has little about the class background of the pupils). Yet his sympathies were with the few teachers who tried, as headmasters, freedom within state schools. There was Michael Duane at Rivinghill comprehensive in London, RF McKenzie in Scotland (both of whom were got rid of after a few years) and EF O'Neill in Lancashire. Duane was "a bloody hero...he has got more publicity for freedom for kids than all my books got." To McKenzie, Neill wrote, "Guys like you are the heroes who work within the system, with all the handicaps that never touch me". It is fair to say, I think, that Neill has had definitely more influence than his state school counterparts, because he had the leisure to write and lecture, and the freedom to keep his school open without having to waste precious energy battling with enemies and critics.

We might see Neill's life work as something he was able to accomplish within the present social order, but which has fundamental importance for any new order in the future. Many revolutionaries would want some degree of regimentation for children, but Neill has shown a different way and millions of people throughout the world must have been touched directly or indirectly by his work.

Ros Kane

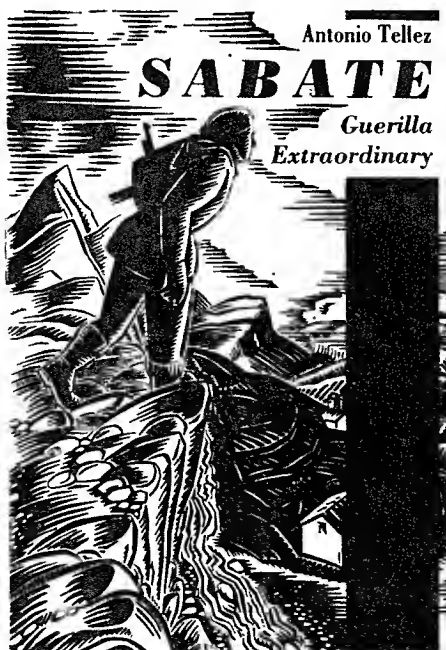
## ANARCHIST POCKET BOOKS

**Sabate — Guerilla Extraordinary**  
Antonio Tellez, £2.95

Telling of the life, the action and the death of anarchist guerilla Francisco Sabate in the struggle against Franco's dictatorship until he was killed in 1960. It shows the many ways it is possible to strike the enemy no matter what colour of fascism it might be, rendering it of great validity still today.

Orders and correspondence to:

Elephant Editions,  
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London, WC1N 3XX



**Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution**  
G.P.Maximoff (South London DAM,  
45p).

Russia in 1905 had three million workers. But no organised workers movement existed there before the 1917 Revolution. The Russian form of workers organisation, the 'Soviet' (factory committee/workers council), was hurriedly invented in 1905 and taken up again in 1917 because of this absence of any Syndicalist conception or movement. The abortive revolution of 1905 failed to win the workers the right to organise. Later this was to prove fatal in cobatting the rise to power of the Bolshevik Party and the destruction of the 1917 Revolution under Lenin.

The Soviets of 1905 (lasting in some degree until 1907) were unique in being (independent of party-political control) an expression of genuine workers self-management; thrown up more or less spontaneously, out of necessity, in the midst of a struggle which began over narrow economic demands and escalated into a popular insurrectionary movement against the rule of the Tsar. They were what the working class invented to fill the void left by the absence of trade unions or political parties. In 1917 the Soviets were of a completely different character. Neither wholly spontaneous or imposed from the outside, they were certainly inspired and (increasingly) controlled by the various political parties which then abounded. This was to prove their undoing.

The Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists were at first much too scattered and weak to have any tangible effect on events, and there was still no Syndicalist movement. As thr Anarchist Voline was later to recall in his disarmingly honest study of events in Russia (*The Unknown Revolution*):

*"It was not until August, and with great difficulty, that a little group of Anarcho-Syndicalists, consisting mainly of comrades returned from abroad, finally succeeded in starting a weekly newspaper Golos Truda, The Voice of Labour, in Petrograd. As for oral propaganda, however, there were scarcely three or four comrades in that city capable of performing it. In Moscow the situation was more favourable, for it already had a libertarian daily, published by a fairly large federation, under the title of Anarchy. In the provinces Anarchist forces and propaganda were insignificant.*

*"It was astonishing that in spite of this poverty, and such an unfavourable situation, the Anarchists were able to gain, a little later — and nearly everywhere — a certain influence, forcing the Bolsheviks to combat them with arms in hand, and in some places, for a considerable time. This rapid and*



*Gregory Maksimov and his wife Olga, 1925.*

spontaneous success of the Anarchist idea is highly significant."

(Voline, p.185/6)

One of the editors of Golos Truda was the author of *Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution*, Gregori Maximoff.

It was not only the Anarchists who flocked back to Russia after the fall of the Tsar in February 1917. So too did most of the leading figures in the Bolshevik Party (Trosky and Bukharin actually sailing from New York on the same ship as Voline). Lenin's chief objective, as a Marxist imbued with the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', was not workers control (to which he had a strong ideological aversion), but the seizure of power for his Party. Bolshevik handling of the Soviets were subordinated to this end; first as a means of gaining control over the independent activity of the people, and subsequently of organising production and disciplining the workforce.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists enthusiastically participated in the newly formed Soviets, and their rising influence supplemented and strengthened an instinctive tendency towards libertarian activity by the workers themselves. This was anathema to Marxist ideologues such as Lenin and Trotsky.

*"The Bolsheviks subordinated the Factory Committees, which were federalist and anarchistic by nature, to the centralised trade unions. With the help of the trade unions, the Bolsheviks succeeded in making the Factory Committees a tool in their policy of domination over the masses. Having achieved that, the Bolsheviks proceeded to strip the Committees of all their functions. And by this time, the Fact-*

*ory Committees fulfilled only one function, the police role imposed on them by the Bolsheviks."*

(Maximoff, p.12)

The story of this process, and of the Anarchist and Syndicalist role within the Factory Committees, is one of the more obscure aspects of the Russian Revolution. Maximoff was one of the few voices (before even the more well-known Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman) to be raised against the myth of the 'Bolshevik Revolution'. His major, and exceptionally powerful, condemnation of Bolshevik practice — *The Guillotine At Work\** — was aptly subtitled *The Leninist Counter-Revolution*. The scope and detail of *Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution* is not quite as wide, as may be expected in a work of only 16 pages. But it adequately distills the essence of the author's purpose in writing the larger work: demonstrating that it was Lenin, before even the rise of Stalin, and the authoritarian principle of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' (derived from Marx), who was responsible for the Statist idea taking in Russia at the expense of the Revolution itself. In so doing, Maximoff also rescues from history the libertarian alternative to Bolshevism which may still yet get the upper hand in the struggles to come.

Like Voline, Maximoff saw that the lack of any independent working class organisations as being ultimately suicidal for the interests of the Revolution.

*"The lack of purely revolutionary unions hastened the defeat of the Anarchist and Syndicalist movements. Scattered throughout the Bolshevik unions, the Anarcho-Syndicalist forces could not show any resistance and were flattened by the iron policy of the*



*Dictatorship of the Proletariat."*

(Maximoff, p.13)

Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution there certainly were, as the author of this pamphlet demonstrates convincingly; but their rising influence amongst the Russian workers was checked abruptly by the imposition of Lenin's policy of 'Red Terror' before a Syndicalist movement could come into being. If one of the purposes of studying history is to allow us to learn the lessons of the past, then Maximoff's pamphlet should serve as a reminder to those of us who talk about revolution that to prepare for it beforehand is a wise move. It will be too late to being when it arrives.

Henry Black

\*From which this pamphlet is taken.

**Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939**  
Ed. Paul Preston, (Methuen, £6.95)

*"It has long been commonplace of writing on the Spanish Civil War that it involved religious, regional and class conflicts. Yet..the central trend has been to conventional political analysis of struggles within and among the parties of the left and right throughout the 1930's."* With these words editor Paul Preston underlines the self-interest of elitist historians whose view of the world is perceived in terms of the relative strengths and weaknesses of the policies, strategy and character of 'great' men.

*Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939* is a fine example of the stimulating new historiography which has emerged since the death of Franco. The posturing and maneuvering of the mandarin class so beloved of establishment academics such as Hugh Thomas\* in *The Spanish Civil War* is ignored by these new writers who appreciate that history can only be understood in terms of its constituent parts, not as the sum of those parts. The contributors to this new study have succeeded in uncovering a wealth of material, of which serves to emphasise the importance and complexity of popular movements and attitudes during periods of instability and rapid social change.

The Second Spanish Republic managed to endure for just five years before the concatenating confrontations which sapped its bourgeois foundations finally brought about its downfall with the military uprising and subsequent social revolution of July 1936. The bitter struggle unleashed that summer of 1936 was not simply a contest between bourgeois liberal democracy and fascist reaction — it was the life and death struggle between a multitude of irreconcilable and indissoluble social and

economic forces contending for their very existence.

Throughout its short life the Republic had been challenged constantly, not only by the violent class struggle between the agricultural and industrial workers on the left and the industrialists and big landowners on the right, but by Catholics and anti-clericalists, regionalists and centralists, modernists and traditionalists — and an officer class with nothing left to defend except its honour and the national unity of the fatherland.

The elemental forces unfettered in July 1936 fired the hopes and aspirations and most primitive fears of the people of Spain. As the crises lumbered toward breaking point there developed a situation of enormously complex proportions, one which can only be understood or evaluated properly by examining the variety of social forces involved, individually, and their interaction. This, then, is the declared intention of *Revolution and War* — to provide some idea of the richness and variety of the new material and to present it in a manner which will help us understand 'the separate, sometimes intertwining, factors' which contributed to the Spanish Civil War, and to emphasise its important message that no single view of the war can ever be satisfactory.

The collection consists of 12 essays which explore a variety of the issues and events culminated in the final social explosion of July 1936. It opens with a fascinating overview of how the historians have approached the Civil War, goes on to consider the changes which brought the Second Republic into being and then examines the hostility of the Catholic Church to the spread of democratic ideas and to the minimal social reforms timidously introduced by the new republic.

A substantial section of the book is given over to examining the importance of purely local or regional issues and the extent to which these had an impact on national politics: the Carlists of Navarre and their struggle against Basque nationalism and 'godless' marxism; the autonomous and revolutionary organisations which predominated in Catalonia. the

Asturian uprising of 1934 which foreshadowed the Civil War itself; the militancy of unemployed youth and escalating class conflict in the capital, Madrid; the pivotal importance of agrarian conflict in the south where the big landowners threatened by the cumulative attacks on the very foundations of their life-styles — property, privilege and religion, finally abandoned all liberal democratic pretensions and appealed to the reactionary officer class to save them and the traditional values they represented. Consideration is also given to the army and how professional soldiers and *milicianos* alike responded to and coped with the military aspects of the war; how Spain's internal conflicts were exploited by German war aims and the financial interests of France, Britain and the Soviet Union. Clearly, each author has his own particular perspective, which the reader can accept or reject according to one's view of the world.

One particular highlight of the book for me, and I feel sure will be of particular interest to other anarchists, is Ronald Fraser's contribution *The popular experience of war and revolution 1936-9*, an exploration of events through the personal recollections of participants and contemporary observers. His account unfolds with a documentary-like clarity explaining why people were moved to fight and at the same time providing the reader with a sense of the complexity of the issues involved. This technique of juxtaposed oral recollections rams home the book's implicit message that history is not composed of single, clearcut, issues; it is, rather, a compound of experiences which affect people in different ways.

*Revolution and War in Spain* is a refreshingly original look at a subject which was of crucial importance in the 1930's and whose study remains of profound interest, particularly to anarchists and libertarians. Its fresh approach and new source material make it an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the mosaic of forces, interests and ideological conflicts which was the Spanish Civil War.

Stuart Christie



**People Without Government** by Harold Barclay  
(Kahn & Avril/Refract Publications)

There are many people who still believe it is possible to deduce the future from the present and past, and these people are particularly evident amongst anthropologists, ethnologists and historians. They are the people who tell us that human nature is fixed and immutable, subject to very limited degrees of variation within parameters which they believe they are able to define. Thus we have schools of thought which say *man* is a territorial animal, *man* is aggressive, *man* is acquisitive, *man* is this, *man* is that, even that *man* is, by nature, co-operative. Each having defined our human essence in terms of some one dominant property, those creative processes where-in we are constantly making and remaking ourselves out of the 'material' of the past and present, but nonetheless towards the achievement of some future synthesis which cannot be predicated on the past or present (indeed is often a complete negation of them), are conveniently overlooked.

Anthropologists in particular are given to defining our future possibilities in terms of our past accomplishments. It is not my intention to belittle so-called primitive communities here, only to say that as models of anarchist communities of the future, they should be taken with little more than a pinch of salt. To attempt to adduce the social content of future anarchist communities from the anarchic communities of the past, or from the intentional anarchist communities of the present era, including the anarchist experiments in Spain and the Ukraine earlier in the century, without taking into account the material, social and cultural soil in which they grew is completely inappropriate.

Harold Barclay, in *People Without Government*, does precisely this, it is hardly surprising, therefore, that he should arrive at this rather fatalistic conclusion:

*"Not only is anarchy unlikely to be achieved because of the improbability of dispensing with the state, but even given the abolition of that institution, the prospect for subsequent modes of organisation remaining decentralised, autonomous and free is as doubtful as the likelihood of the participants being truly dedicated to freedom, equality and justice."*

The premises upon which Barclay bases this conclusion are that anarchic communities of the past have had a tendency to degenerate once they have reached a certain stage of development and complexity. They have become stratified and authoritarian. No consideration is given to what society has grown up from, what determinants of the simple

hunter-gatherer societies, for instance, were which led to this degeneration. Barclay is content with the fact that it just happened, and therefore something similar must happen in the future. We need to look at concrete social, cultural and material factors to understand why these societies had a tendency to degenerate once they reached a certain level of development and complexity, and ask if such factors would exist in the future.

For instance, Barclay says that all primitive societies treat women as inferior, and all operate a sexual division of labour. He does not, however, address the relationship between kinship, exogamy and the incest taboo which, as a far more penetrating anthropologist, Robin Fox, has pointed out, required the separation of men and women, and also the young uninitiated males. Nor does he address the question of why sexual desire needed to be so regulated in these highly homogeneous societies, or the relationship between the regulation of sexual desire, the incest taboo, the institution of exogamy, and the sexual division of labour. Indeed, one receives no indication at all in his work that such questions have even entered his mind.

Given the deep, underlying sexual problematic of the kinship system, not to mention the material and cultural backwardness of hunter-gatherer societies, it says a great deal for *human nature* that anarchic societies survived so long (99/100ths of our evolution), and did not become authoritarian. That alone must say something about a basic tendency in *human nature*. The question Barclay has not answered is to what extent were the social structures of later stratified societies rooted in these early divisions between men, women and the young. To what extent can the roots of patriarchy, warrior castes, even the earlier gerontocracies be traced to these divisions? And, if they can, to what extent are they *natural*? Will anarchist communities of the future *naturally* evolve into gerontocracies and patriarchies? Will warrior-castes emerge? shamans and priest-castes? We surely cannot address the question of the hypothetical degeneration of anarchist communities in the future without coming to grips with these and other questions, particularly those related to abundance and scarcity, bringing ecological, demographic as well as economic factors into the equation. It seems to me to be as absurd to suppose that gerontocracies, warrior and priest-castes will emerge in a future anarchist society as to expect that an anarchist community will maintain order through sorcery, witchcraft, cursing, or other *supernatural* devices, not to mention gossip, or the threat of prolonged feuding.

Barclay's reasoning, however, leads him to the fatalistic conclusion that an anarchist society is not even on the agen-

da, that even if it were, it wouldn't work. This doesn't inhibit him from parading his anarchist credentials, by saying that we should, none-the-less, oppose authority as a matter of principle, although anarchy itself is an unattainable ideal. The only credible response to such reasoning would be: "Fuck principle. I'm not interested in some unattainable ideal, I want the real thing, or nothing. Life's too precious to be wasted on unattainable ideals."

The same approach that Barclay takes towards *primitive* societies is also taken towards international anarchist communities, and the anarchist experiments in the Ukraine under Makhno, and in Spain during the Civil War. There is a tendency for him to be rather condescending about these experiments (as befits an academic!). He admits that the situation in which they were applied (civil war) was a difficult one, but nonetheless we get the predictable *principled* condemnation of the Makhnovites for doing some very un-anarchistic things such as shooting counter-revolutionaries, and little recognition that in real life one might be driven to make some pretty messy compromises with principle, otherwise one achieves absolutely nothing. On the other hand he says nothing about the material and cultural background against which these experiments were conducted. (Why were the Spanish anarchists so puritanical, for instance?) He says nothing at all about the French revolutionary sections as potential proto-anarchist forms of revolutionary organisation. For him anarchism is something which should emerge fully formed from the head of Zeus, not something that comes from a process of trial and error, emerging from the ground upwards as a result of the self-activity of revolutionary communities in response to

Nestor Makhno (centre) in exile. Paris, 1929.



counter-revolutionary pressure which will be applied not only by the bourgeoisie, but also by popular representatives, once they have assumed power. That anarchism might represent a logic of development within revolutionary situations and means precisely the self-activity of the people, making and executing the policies of the revolutionary society as a whole through their own assemblies, seems to have passed this anarchist by.



There is little in this book but the academic's comfortable sense of superiority, his sneer and condescension towards anything which takes place on the ground, and thus appears to him to be a bit messy. Anarchism is something to be fought for, both in practice and in theory. It is, therefore, not something which can be brought into the world by people who don't believe it has any chances, but nonetheless support it out of *principle*, equating its chances of success with that of cigarette smokers all being persuaded to give up smoking because it is known to cause cancer. The ultimate result of a book like this is to freeze the will, and discourage all attempts to create a future for ourselves which will have nothing in common with the deformed and mutilated past which is the book's inspiration. Its freedom is an abstract freedom; and, as such, it isn't my freedom. For my freedom is one with my desire, and my desire is nothing less than the complete transformation of social relations which only the revolutionary self-activity of the people has a chance of bringing about.

But Barclay rules out revolution, again taking the past as his inspiration, because armed insurrection would be disastrous. This does not take into account the cultural and material epoch we are presently entering in which, to use the formulation of Murray Bookchin, the institutions of society are being so hollowed out by the New Enlightenment that any insurrection will be more symbolic than real. Of course, it is true, that a contest which involved arms alone would not be a contest but a massacre, since only the State can afford sophisticated weaponry. But this presupposes that a revolution is simply a contest of arms, and not the exertion of moral and popular pressure on a social structure which is so rotten it collapses under the weight of it.

Barclay however prefers to work within the old parameters, prefers to cite Michel's *iron law* of oligarchy, to discussing the potential inherent within this new situation in which we find ourselves. He is an armchair anarchist, an academic who wishes to introduce all the poison of his profession into a movement which above all needs optimism and self-confidence. His *realistic* fatalism blights our deepest aspirations. To accept it must inevitably mean the betrayal of hope.

Richard Livermore

#### THE BELARUS SECRET

by John Loftus (Penguin. £1.95).

Europe in 1945 saw a confused situation with thousands of displaced persons among whom were many war criminals and Nazi collaborators wanted for trial on war crimes charges. For the most part it was known who these wanted people were and they were sought out to stand trial for war crimes by those working for the War Crimes Commission. These Nazis and their collaborators were strongly anti-communist in their political views and it was widely anticipated that the post war era would see a world scene dominated by the conflict between capitalist American and Soviet Russia. So while many with a history of collaboration with the Nazis were being hunted for prosecution by the War Crimes Commission, they were also being sought as recruits by the American secret service for post-war work as intelligence agents.

John Loftus' work as an investigator for the US Justice department led to his uncovering one area in which the intelligence community succeeded in recruiting a large number of men wanted for trial on war crimes charges and getting them into the United States quite illegally to take up intelligence and espionage work against Russia in the post-war years. He deals with Nazis from Byelorussia (White Russia) many of whom carried out some of the most barbaric slaughters of their own population that the Nazis required during the course of the war.

The account of the conspiracies by different sections of the American secret service is both absorbing and confusing. Because of the secrecy and illegality of the operation it was concealed from those nominally responsible for it. Political directives which specifically forbade the operation were disregarded. The reader's confusion arises from the mass of acronyms used for the different sub sections and special offices set up to carry out this recruitment. The same office frequently has a succession of different names, which both rendered it fairly secure from an internal threat from those with a regard for the supposed legitimacy of political control within the secret service and against discovery by outside investigators. A reader can only admire the

determination with which the author has pursued his suspicions through countless obstructions and deliberately built in difficulties to give a fair working explanation of how it was possible for a few determined and unscrupulous high level bureaucrats to recognise an opportunity which seemed to offer much from their point of view, and then to carry it through without any regard that the whole plan was illegal and carried a clear veto from President Truman.

Those with a taste for irony will be interested to learn that the Byelorussian Nazis who joined the American intelligence service in this way had previously been extensively penetrated during the war by Russian agents, so their recruitment by the American intelligence service was not an unmixed blessing from an American point of view and may even, on balance, have proved more advantageous to the Russian intelligence service. One anecdote from the book seems to me to be typical of the ludicrous world of the spy. One of the Byelorussian emigres was sent back to Europe to "defect" to the Russians with some secrets and then act as a double agent for the Americans. But the man they chose was already a Russian agent planted in the Byelorussian community, so he became, in effect, a triple agent, at which stage I would have guessed he would find it hard to be sure himself when he was telling the truth and when he was lying, not to mention remember who he was working for.

An interesting post script to the book is a chapter on Klaus Barbie, the recently recaptured "butcher of Lyons". The author maintains that this man was first concealed from the War Crimes Commission and recruited into intelligence work by the British secret service and only later passed on to the Americans and offered a refuge in South America. If this is true, as it may well be, he is in a good position to expect a deal rather than an open trial on the charges he presently faces to prevent him saying things about the "Western Democracies" that they would prefer us not to hear about.

This Barbie post script is very interesting, but it is not relevant to the book's theme. Although it is not a long book it takes some time and care to read because it seeks to explain the largely impenetrable world of the American intelligence bureaucracy. It is the result of a great deal of meticulous and detailed investigation, and though not easy to read, because of the complexity of the bureaucracy it describes, it is very well worth the effort of reading.

It was also satisfying from my own point of view in the confirmation it gives to a long held opinion, that one of the most significant developments in recent history has been the all-pervasive growth in size, scope and power of bureaucracies in all areas of human activity.

Peter Miller.

**Stefano Delle Chiaie – Portrait of a Black Terrorist**, Stuart Christie (Anarchy/Refract, £4.50 plus 50p P&P 182 illus. pp.).

I believe a lot of people have been waiting for this book. I know that I certainly have, and it has been well worth waiting for.

To readers only vaguely familiar with the history of fascist terrorist ringleader Stefano delle Chiaie this book will be shocking. To researchers, like myself, it's a relief. It's not only a portrait of a man, but also a miniportrait of one of the dark sides of man – active fascism and para-fascism throughout the last 40 years.

Actually, it does not contain very much new material, but everybody who works on these subjects and gathers monstrous files knows how difficult it is to get an overview of the activities, background and connections of an elusive character like delle Chiaie: A paragraph in one article, a couple of lines in another, copies of documents and a few pages in various books. It takes hours, sometimes days, to go through all this material, and then you still stand a good chance of missing what you are looking for.

Stuart Christie has done a great piece of work putting all the facts and probable facts together and in order. The result really gives us an idea about what's going on behind the fascist terror-scene and within it. Due to the elusiveness of delle Chiaie and his backers and manipulators, there are still many questions to be asked and answers to be found, but this book certainly paves the way.

To me one of the best things about a book like this is that it somehow functions like a computer-program put into your own brain-computer. The overview allows you to see new details, new openings, things you never saw or realised, sitting there with your 500 clippings and documents. Let me give an example: Christie mentions (p.26) that delle Chiaie's principal Italian intelligence-contact and puppetmaster, Guido Giannettini, in November 1961 had been invited to the US by Lt.General Pedro del Valle, commander of the Central Naval Academy at Annapolis. Giannettini went and conducted a three day seminar on *'The Techniques and Prospects of a Coup d'Etat in Europe'*. His audience included both Pentagon and CIA representatives.

I knew about Giannettini's visit to the US, but I never noticed that General del Valle was behind the invitation. Now, reading Christie's book, del Valle's name suddenly rang a bell with me and some old documents in my file acquired a new value.

The documents were three letters, written by General del Valle in September/October 1963 (shortly before the Kennedy assassination). As president of a

militant right wing organisation, *'Defenders of the American Constitution'*, del Valle wrote to the leader of a similar organisation, *'American Veterans Against Communism'*, AVAC, to support the idea of co-operation between their organisations and the *'Minuteman'* terror group. General del Valle wrote: *"We are arming for the avowed purpose of protecting our own homes and families against the Black hordes the Marxists will let loose upon us, forming squads, then platoons, companies and battalions. We do have an intelligence service and are organizing a communications network."*

General del Valle's data points to the past as well as the future parts of the delle Chiaie-scheme: In 1935/36 he was observer for the US with Italian fascist forces in Africa. After he retired del Valle became vice-president of ITT,

whose role in Chile became infamous. Another piece of information that really made me tick was on p.106 which stated that delle Chiaie's close associate, torture freak Pierluigi Pagliai, was accredited *"co-ordinator"* of the Bolivian National Drug Control Agency at the same time as he was functioning with delle Chiaie and West German Joachim Fiebelkorn in the Nazi death squadron known as the *'Fiances of Death'*. The members of this group also acted as henchmen, couriers and negotiators for the Bolivian cocaine-king, Roberto Suarez.

The allegation that CIA agent William Adger Moffett was the paramilitary adviser of the *'Fiances of Death'*, and that at least one of the terrorists, Pagliai, had credentials as a narc, is certainly thought-provoking, especially when one considers what happened later (some of it so late,



Theodore Shackley.

*"...the United States cannot limit national security solely to military and political terms. The challenges and dangers of the 1980's require a great nation to view its national security in terms of the interrelationships among political, economic and military factors — that is, if it intends to remain a power at all. It seems to me that the counter-insurgency roles detailed in this book harmonise with what appears to be a re-emerging American sense of values concerning the projection of power overseas. If so, then appropriate use of low cost, high impact covert action programmes to achieve foreign policy objectives to help friendly nations resist subversion by the Soviet Union, Cuba or China will receive the support of the American body politic."* (The Third Option, p.156)

*"...the third option: the use of guerrilla warfare, counter-insurgency techniques and covert action to achieve policy goals, In our view, irregular warfare skills would give the US an additional arrow in its national defense quiver."* (p.18)

**The Third Option. An American View of Counterinsurgency Operations**, Theodore Shackley, Readers Digest Press (who else!) and McGraw Hill.



that Christie could not add it to the book).

When *'Fiances of Death'* leader Joachim Fiebelkorn gave himself up to West German police in 1982, he claimed, that delle Chiaie was the main conduit between the Latin American drug producers and the Sicilian Mafia. Fiebelkorn was wanted by the Italian police for questioning over the Bologna massacre along with delle Chiaie, but the West German police released him on bail within 48 hours. Later, the Italian extradition-demand was rejected and, shortly after, the West German narcotics police and American DEA declared that Fiebelkorn was very valuable to them.

Strange things went on in Frankfurt. On the loose, Fiebelkorn lured one of his old cohorts in Bolivia, Rudolf Grob, into a trap, where he was arrested with one kilo of cocaine, fresh from Bolivia and Suarez. But later, in court, Grob helped his former boss by declaring that they were together in Bolivia at the time of the Bologna massacre. So now there is little chance that the Italians will ever get their hands on Fiebelkorn.

Somebody must have been pulling strings for Fiebelkorn. But who? And why? The whole affair shows once again, that right wing terrorism and drug-money are very closely connected. So are the CIA and drug-money. And the CIA and right wing terrorism.

Christie points to the former head of CIA counter-intelligence, James Angleton, as the manipulator of Italian and maybe international postwar fascist terrorism. I believe this is probably true in the 50's and 60's.

In the beginning of the 70's, Latin America became the centre of right wing terrorism, and it was only natural that someone in charge of CIA's activities in this hemisphere, would take over Angleton's role. This someone was Theodore Shackley. A man who had long been deep into terrorism, — and also a man who knew about CIA and drugs. In the early sixties, Shackley was chief of the so-called J/M WAVE station in Florida, operating terrorist-attacks against Cuba. He was also directly involved in the CIA-Mafia murder attempts on Castro. Later, he organized the CIA's secret war in Laos, fought by the opium-producing Meo tribe and financed by drug-money. After he retired from the CIA in 1978, Shackley wrote the book *'The Third Option'* in which he called for what he described as "counter-terrorism". Strangely enough it still seems to be Shackley's friends and associates who are active in the terror scene.

Christie's book is marked: *Black Papers No.1*, which tells me that we will get more of the same kind. I certainly hope so. This is a great start

Henrik Kruger

**The Fourth Reich — Klaus Barbie and the Neo-Fascist Connection**, Magnus Linklater, Isabel Hilton, Neal Aschenson (Hodder and Stoughton, London, £9.95).

*The Fourth Reich — Klaus Barbie and the Neo-Fascist Connection* — the title made me very expectant. Finally, somebody seemed to realise that Barbie's post war activities are more interesting and urgent to expose than his deeds in Lyon 40 years ago.

The latter is a question of nostalgic justice, whereas his involvement in the repression in Latin America is part of an ongoing crime, which at times grows to almost holocaust-dimensions.

After reading the book my emotions are mixed. My expectations are not fulfilled. But still I can't say that it is not a very good and valuable book. It is, in fact, the best Barbie-book I have read. It tells an exciting story with a lot of new details, and collecting these details is a fine piece of journalism.

Therefore, in spite of the following objections, the book deserves to be bought and read.

The objections relate entirely to Part 11, *The New Order*, which tells about Klaus Barbie's life in Bolivia and Peru and his role as a willing servant of cruel, cocaine-smuggling dictators and supervisor of their death squads, mainly composed of foreign fascist terrorists.

The admirable amount of new material in this part could and should have been used for a thorough analysis of the monstrosities that are taking place in Latin America and have been going on for more than 20 years. It could have dug into the origin of the modern, political, use of death squads, modern torture-techniques and the manipulation of the likes of Klaus Barbie and Stefano delle Chiaie. This would have made it not only an exciting book, but also an important book. But on this it gives us less than nothing.

The authors probably had a lot of material that had to be omitted simply to keep within a reasonable booksize. Also, this book is not meant to be a political manifesto in any way. I can sympathise with that. But as it is, it gives the reader an entirely wrong impression of what is going on, and it wouldn't have taken more than a couple of pages to give it a little balance. I have no reason to suspect the authors of deliberately wanting to mislead us.

The way I read the book, it leaves me with a message, that the dirty work of Barbie, delle Chiaie, Fiebelkorn, Pagliai and their fascist friends was strictly a matter between them and right wing Bolivian officers and/or drug lords, DINA in Chile, major D'Aubuisson in El Salvador, right wing officers in Argen-

tina etc. Only once, in the following lines, is there a hint at something more: "While Barbie collaborated closely with the Bolivian Ministry of the Interior, the ministry for its part liaised with the CIA."

That's all about the United States' partaking in the direct, violent repression in Latin America. In the rest of the story we only hear about how the Americans were disgusted by the Bolivian cocaine-officers and their German-Italian killers and torturers. And how the US, in the end, assisted in removing them. That's a very, very narrow part of the truth.

Not a word about how the CIA has taught the Latin American torturers their skills, how the US supplied some of the modern torture-equipment, or how CIA-supervisors often took part in the actual torture and moonlighted with death squads. These things have been documented in The Rockefeller Commission Report, Senator James Abourezk's investigation, The Dan Mittrione Case and A.J. Lanoguth's book *Hidden Terrors* and his articles in the New York Times.

The torture schools in the US were closed down in 1974, and the CIA torture consultants in Latin America recalled home after the so-called OPS-program was exposed. But that didn't stop the practice. The torture and repression experts were simply transferred to the International Narcotics Control Program, INC, and sent back to Latin America.

Neither does the book mention the CIA and DEA-control and manipulation of at least part of Operation Condor and the travelling terrorists of *The White Hand*. The outline for Condor was originally invented in the Nixon White House as a repression program, masked as narcotics operations. It is, therefore, interesting what the book tells us about Klaus Barbie's role as a co-ordinator of Condor in the southern part of Latin America.

US intelligence in Latin America is many things. CIA is usually blamed for everything, but military intelligence and the DEA are active too. So are semi-official intelligence agencies staffed, mostly, by former CIA agents working for powerful lobbies like the American Security Council and, most likely, still for right wing factions within the CIA. Finally, there are lots of small private intelligence units and — of course — the FBI.

The CIA, the DEA and even the FBI knew exactly what was going on in Bolivia and in other Condor membership countries. As long as the terrorists were thought to be useful, they were allowed to carry on, and were even supported with US weapons and advice — all given through the local intelligence or security police.

An FBI agent in Buenos Aires sent a report back to the US on "*the formation of special teams from Condor membership countries to travel anywhere in the world to carry out sanctions and assassinations against political enemies*". In his detailed report the agent called it "*a good operation*", which he could fully approve of.

These teams and members of the teams, like delle Chiaie and Pagliai, were able to travel everywhere in Latin America for a long time. The CIA would watch them closely and occasionally report on them to a foreign government if they stepped out of line — mostly in Europe. I say occasionally, because this practice didn't help Orlando Letelier or Bernardo Leighton.

When the *Fiances of Death* was created in 1978, the US supplied the Bolivian Ministry of Interior with 160 sub-machine guns and 250 .38 cal. revolvers for drug enforcement. The submachine guns were the *Marietta MAC 10*, Stefano delle Chiaie's favorite weapon.

In the period 1969-1978, a total of 395 Bolivian narcotics agents were trained by the DEA, some of them in the United States, others by DEA agents in Bolivia. We know that at least two of the Italian terrorists were working as narcs in Bolivia, and also, that all the *Fiances of Death* members participated in narcotics enforcement against small drug peddlers, most of them peasants, while at the same time protecting the government-connected drug lords. There is no way the DEA cannot have been aware of this. And still it continued for years.

At the time of the coup in 1980 a well known CIA coup expert, William Adger Moffett was stationed in La Paz. Moffett's speciality is right wing paramilitary groups. In the mid-seventies he was in Haiti on an assignment to co-ordinate with the Ton Ton Macoute, Baby Doc Duvalier's private death squad. In November 1978 he was posted in Jamaica, where he worked with violent right wing groups in opposition to the government of Michael Manley. He was exposed by a Jamaican newspaper in late 1979 and, some months later, he moved to Bolivia.

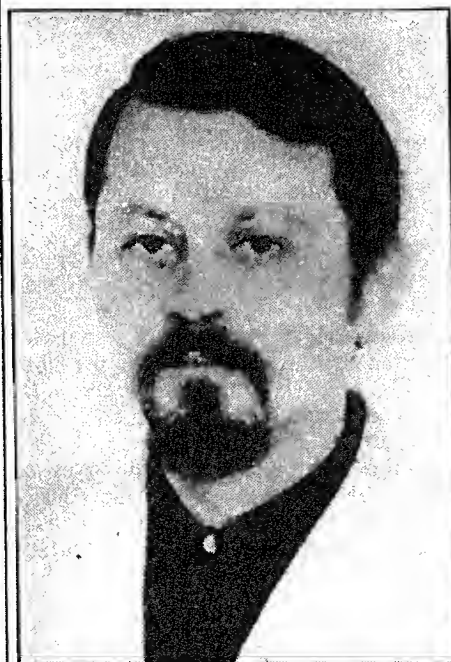
The fact that the United States' official representatives in Bolivia were clearly and outspokenly against Barbie's and the fascist terrorists' activities does not mean that they did not get clandestine support from the CIA, DEA and/or other intelligence forces. Such contradictions are very normal — El Salvador being a good example.

After World War II, when the US Counter Intelligence Corps was hunting Klaus Barbie all over Germany for his crimes he was employed by the CIC's own department in Augsburg. And the officers of the department knew who he was and covered up. So, what happened

in Bolivia was just history repeating itself.

According to the book, Stefano delle Chiaie attended the annual conference of CAL (Confederacion Anticomunista Latinoamericana) in Buenos Aires in September 1980. This is very interesting news to me and it confirms that CAL and its mother organisation, WACL, (World Anti Communist League) is one of the major powers behind right wing terrorism in Latin America.

One of the speakers at many WACL conferences is Stefano delle Chiaie's old friend, Nazarene Mollicone, former member of the central committee of the Italian Ordine Nuovo. Two other close associates of delle Chiaie's, Elio Massagrande and Gaetano Orlando, attended the WACL conference in 1979 in Paraguay, where they live in exile. That same year it was exposed that a small group of croaction terrorists, some of whom were wanted for murder, was living in Paraguay, that they were members of CAL, and that, in a few years, this eight man group had used 3.5 million dollars of CAL funds for terrorist activities.



Stefano Delle Chiaie

At the CAL conference delle Chiaie had a meeting with his friend, major D'Aubuisson of El Salvador, to whom he gave advice on "counter terrorist actions", meaning the use of death squads. *The same kind of advice one can read about in the former CIA hawk, Theodore Shackley's book: The Third Option.*

Shackley's old friend and boss in the CIA, Ray S. Cline, attends many WACL meetings, often as a speaker. The authors of *The Fourth Reich* claim that the Reagan government launched a fierce war against terrorism. But what Alexander

Haig said in his famous and notorious speech was that the KGB was behind all terrorism. This would make right wing terrorists freedom fighters, just as they see themselves. The man who made the research for Haig's speech, and who is Reagan's adviser on terrorism, is the same Ray S.Cline who supports WACL and CAL.

In a recent series of articles in *The Washington Post*, Jack Anderson interviewed a member of the travelling *White Hand* terrorist organisation who stated: "*We are all members of CAL. CAL is The White Hand*";

There are so many very interesting loose ends in Part II that I strongly believe this part should have been a whole book all by itself.

I would have liked to know more about Barbie's and Schwend's weapon-dealings through Transmaritima. Especially the deals with Merex. Already, at this early point, the ways of Barbie may have crossed those of Stefano delle Chiaie. The Merex AG was in trouble in the mid-seventies for supplying weapons for the Italian terrorists of Ordine Nuovo. The West German intelligence, BND, was aware of this and let it go on. This scandal almost cost the later federal president, Karl Carstens, his political career.

I would also have liked to know more about the American part-owner of Transmaritima, William Ayers. And the book doesn't mention that Barbie travelled to Miami, Florida, on more than one occasion.

Even Barbie's connection with drugs may have started earlier. It is known that he was in contact with heroin-kingpin Auguste Ricord in Paraguay. They must have known each other from way back, when Ricord was working for Gestapo in France.

We are told that the neo-nazis in Bolivia were members of an international nazi organisation. We do not get the name, though it must be known to the authors. Such details are of interest. The Brazilian paper, *O Globo*, published a phot of Manfred Kuhlman's identification card on which was printed: WUNS — Bolivia. It stands for World Union of National Socialists, it has its headquarters in Arlington, Virginia, and it has a lot of members in Britain as well.

And then there is *Fiances of Death* ringleader, Fiebelkom. Why does the story about him stop when he is arrested in West Germany? What happened in his case is incredible.

After his arrest in West Germany, the Italian authorities asked to have him extradited to stand trial for his alleged participation in the Bologna massacre. Not only did the Germans refuse to extradite him, they turned Fiebelkom loose to act as an undercover narcotics

agent for the West German narcotics police and the American DEA. It was said that the Italians didn't have sufficient evidence, and on the other hand Fiebelkorn was now far too valuable to the DEA to be extradited.

This is indeed a strange tale!

When Fiebelkorn was first arrested he told the authorities that Stefano delle Chiaie was the intermediary between the Latin American cocaine producers and the Sicilian Mafia. If that is true, delle Chiaie's contact man in the Mafia was most likely to have been Don Tomasso Buscetta, the Mafia's narcotics "shippingman" in Latin America, with his headquarters in Sao Paulo. They knew each other very well. Buscetta supported the Italian fascists, and he allegedly murdered the journalist Mauro de Mauro because the latter had got hold of information about the planned fascist coup in Italy. The coup in which Stefano delle Chiaie played a star role.

Today Buscetta is world famous for squealing on his old friends. Buscetta was very close to financial wizard Michele Sindona and the P2 lodge, which channelled enormous sums of money into the secret Latin American repression apparatus. Another ring is closed.

Maybe it is unfair of me to concentrate so much on what is not in *The Fourth Reich* rather than what's actually there. But what I believe to be the truth is more important to me than fairness in this case.

And, as I said, it's still a good book!

Henrik Kruger

### THE SLUMBERING SENTINELS

by C.G. Weeramantry (Penguin. £3.50)

Problems of scientific and technological advances and their impact on the world are matters of growing concern. So it is good to have this book by a professor of law which looks at the problems and threats posed by the advances in various fields of science. The threat to the ecological balance by the techniques of bringing a foetus from fertilisation to full term outside of the womb and the threats to privacy from the highly sophisticated surveillance methods now available are all considered by the author.

Such considerations are most timely. If some of the postulations about the powers of recent technology are soundly based then I would conclude that the battles are already lost. If the world's atmosphere is being bunged up with carbon dioxide so that a "greenhouse effect" results in general temperature increases and the consequent transformation of areas of pasture into desert, then the planet cannot long survive. If a satellite in space can read the paper you read on a park bench, and if they can follow your movements around a building

by measuring the amount of sway in the building your movements cause, then the technological resources exist for everyone to be kept under constant surveillance.

Equally, if scientists develop techniques of bringing a fertilised egg into a human form outside the woman, then fine ethical judgements about when life started, from which point in the process the creation becomes meaningfully alive, will not prevent scientists from developing fertilised eggs into babies in this way.

Which two conclusions lead one to the view that much of this book is without purpose. The author deals extensively with the way technological developments present problems for legislators to control abuse. But as the technological advances will tend to be considered advantageous by governments of all sorts few will doubt that such statutory controls as may be put into operation will be designed to be ineffectual. Even in countries where the legislature is nominally independent of the executive, Britain and America are fair examples of this, one would have to be very optimistic to expect adequate safeguards for privacy and human integrity to be brought into operation.

Even in present conditions, where to the best of my knowledge 'phone lines have to be listened in to and letters have to be extracted from envelopes to be read, safeguards which should protect private individuals from breaches of their privacy are actually used to protect those who carry out these breaches from any censure for so doing or hindrance from continuing so to do. It's a very gloomy thought, but a fair one, that regulations to protect Joe Public serve to prevent secret policing from being prosecuted for human rights abuses. With this being the case for the comparatively crude surveillance techniques now in use, more highly sophisticated, more technically complex and more operationally sensitive methods must be accompanied by greater difficulties, in fact an impossibility, of safeguards and protections being enacted that can conceivably help poor old Joe Public.

The only, and the best, safeguard we are left with is good old human incompetence. If it is possible for dossiers to be compiled on everybody it cannot be possible for any individual or institution to use all this information, or even to start to evaluate it and categorise it so that it might become useful. As soon as the process of evaluation and discrimination is set in train it must involve judgements and decisions made by fallible humans. Their problem is insoluble. Naturally the work load will be carried by the computer, but computers have no value judgements. Just imagine the result if a computer was told to extract the files of all anarchists. It could never judge between sorts of anarchists or levels of activity, and I would wager a speculative sum that it would both select

the files of people who long ago stopped considering themselves as anarchist as well as missing out files of anarchists currently active. To take this consideration further, any fuller or more specific criteria on which the Special Branch might seek people's files will have to be decided upon by the Special Branch. Every additional criteria they add will draw more people into the computer catchment.

The alternative course is for the police to work backwards and start by extracting files on the basis of fairly general criteria and then refining the remainder by only re-including all those who satisfy a further criterion, and going carefully through all those who fall out at each stage of re-selection. This is a vast job. We need only recall the complete bodge up the Yorkshire police made of using computers in the Yorkshire Ripper investigation to realise how far general user expertise lags behind the highly sophisticated developments now being carried out in the computer field.

But I do not want to give the impression that I am not concerned about the threats presented by advances in technology, either in the surveillance field, or in the fields of foetus development and ecological imbalance discussed in this book. Some of the developments now available and being worked on go far beyond anything imagined by George Orwell in his novel 1984. In my view the situation described in that book is both very largely with us today and very largely as remote as it was when the book was written. Further, I would suggest that most of the changes that have come about since 1948 have brought us closer to the situation described by Orwell. The extent to which the public can be controlled and manipulated has advanced, but the means of total control and manipulation are still lacking. I would surmise that, for all the work that is being done whose outcome will be to bring nearer the possibility of total control, this will never be achieved.

I do not believe that utopias of any sort are possible of achievement. They are worth striving towards, but not possible of accomplishment. The 1984 situation of total control of the public by a highly centralised and disciplined group is clearly a utopia for any ruling class. Any steps which bring a situation of total control nearer will be encroachments on our present liberties and will need to be resisted by those of us who value freedom. It is therefore a pity that Professor Weeramantry can give no better prescription for the prevention of these perils than a pious hope that legislators will design adequate safeguards in the form of statutes and laws. They clearly will not. The responsibility is back, where it always truly was, with Joe Public.

Peter Miller.

**ANARCHISM & VIOLENCE :**  
**Severino De Giovanni.**

By Osvaldo Bayer. Introduction by Jean Weir and Alfredo Bonnano.  
Elephant Editions. 1986.

Elephant Editions have produced a number of interesting books recently. This is the latest of them.

Severino De Giovanni was an Italian anarchist. Like many others he was obliged to flee Mussolini's Italy, settling in the large Italian community in Argentina. There he engaged himself, first in anti-fascist activity, then stimulated by the murder of Sacco & Vanzetti he began to "light the fuse on the dynamite of vengeance". From May 1926 to his death by firing squad on February 1st 1931 he carried on a campaign of bombings and anarchist propaganda, funded at the end by bank robberies. This included not merely publishing a paper *Culmine* while on the run from the police, but also establishing a print shop to publish anarchist classics, producing the first volume of a collected Elisee Reclus before his death.

Di Giovanni is a figure of interest to anyone who's dreamed of taking their desire to strike back for reality. Moreover he is almost entirely unknown to English speaking revolutionaries. This book is a translation of what is supposed to be the best book about Di Giovanni and gives a very interesting account of his activities.

Sadly while this may be the best book about Di Giovanni its not quite the book one might have wished for. Bayer, the author is neither an anarchist nor a revolutionary. Indeed not to mince words, he's obviously a bleeding heart middle class ratbag. Originally commissioned to research Di Giovanni, he was as he states unenthusiastic. To judge by the book he wrote, he only became so when he discovered, to his evident astonishment that Di Giovanni had a political rationale for his actions. The book is another addition to the "anarchism as a history of larger than life heroic individuals" school.

Priding himself on his historical diligence, Bayer has clearly done no more than read a lot of documents and (perhaps) talk to some of Di Giovanni's contemporaries. Some of the results of this compilation are indeed fascinating. His access to police files for example reveals how far the group around Di Giovanni was penetrated by informers. Nevertheless writing history is about more than getting your facts right (whatever the likes of N.Walter might assert). Its also about attempting to see those facts and events in the context of the society they occurred in. Most important of all it is not done with any bourgeois pretence at a-historical objectivity, but in order to illuminate the present.

Bayer fails abjectly on this score. First of all he presumes his (Argentinian) readership know something of Argentinian history, which is obviously not the case for revolutionaries in Britain. Elephant Editions provide some background notes which help but can only go so far. As understandable is Bayer's failure to write from a revolutionary perspective since he isn't one. Where his cut-rate scholasticism reveals itself is in how far he is tied to what he has been able to copy out in the library. Where there is little documentation on an event he makes little attempt to fill out background himself. By contrast Di Giovanni's capture and execution which obviously filled the papers at the time take up a wholly disproportionate amount of the book. Bayer's only efforts at interpretation concern whether or not Di Giovanni was 'responsible' for a particular action. His real sympathies show themselves in the amount of space he devotes to the obscure army officer appointed to 'defend' Di Giovanni at his trial, who 'dared' to make a liberal plea for 'humanity', which is reprinted in full. (Di Giovanni was 'dumbfounded' by this according to Bayer. Doubtless the hypocrisy of bourgeois justice struck him as forcibly as it will revolutionary readers of this gem today.). Lastly, Bayer's book is atrociously written. It should be seen as the equivalent of 'true crime' studies like Donald Rumbelow's on the 'Houndsditch Murders'.

That said it's undoubtedly better than no book at all and Elephant Editions are to be congratulated on doing their best with an unsympathetic text. The political inadequacies are discussed in an introduction, and a great deal of trouble has been taken to remove obvious howlers and render the text into as clear english as is feasible while remaining faithful to the original. Personally I'd have cut out some of Bayer's more slimily moralistic platitudes. On the other hand it does warn you of how much, and where, you should read between the lines. Revolutionaries get a great deal of practise in this, in reading about revolutionary history, and given these reservations the book is a very interesting one.

It's unfortunate that the books deficiencies make it less useful than it might be. In the introduction the publishers suggest that it provides the materials for reflection on the question of violent action by the oppressed as opposed to terrorism. It does indeed provide food for thought, however it breaks down irritatingly at the point where this becomes most important. Di Giovanni's activities were initially directed at the issues of concern to the exiled Italian anarchist community, but soon broadened their scope in response to the movements of the class struggle in Argentina. Di Giovanni was an anti-fascist but equally a resolute opponent of any idea of a popular front with liberalism or leftism (including a fair part of his so-called

anarchist comrades ). When a military coup overthrew the Radical government in power, Di Giovanni had no illusions about democracy being something to fight for. Nevertheless when an exiled Radical minister issued a leaflet threatening a terrorist campaign if the Generals didn't resign power by a certain date, the group around Di Giovanni surprisingly decided to make this empty threat a reality. They "decided to go into action with dynamite attacks in order to create a widespread climate of despair and disquiet and to rock those in government." These are Bayer's words and as elsewhere in the book he hints, without supplying evidence, at 'inside' information. On the day in question Di Giovanni's group exploded three bombs, two in railway stations and one in a street resulting in a number of deaths and injuries. That is all Bayer tells us about this significant political decision and its consequences, making any judgement of it from a revolutionary perspective all but impossible.

Nevertheless the book is fascinating and well worth reading if only for its account of Di Giovanni's relations with his 'fellow' anarchists. The anarchist paper *La Protesta* conducted an astonishing campaign of vilification — effectively to the point of naming him as the author of the activities criticised. (One of its editors was Diego Abad de Santillan well on the path that would lead him to a ministership in the 'revolutionary' government during the civil war in Spain. His attacks on anarcho-banditry have to be seen to be believed). Di Giovanni's response to this, having failed to persuade them to desist, was to shoot one of the editors. In light of events in Spain its a pity he didn't shoot more !

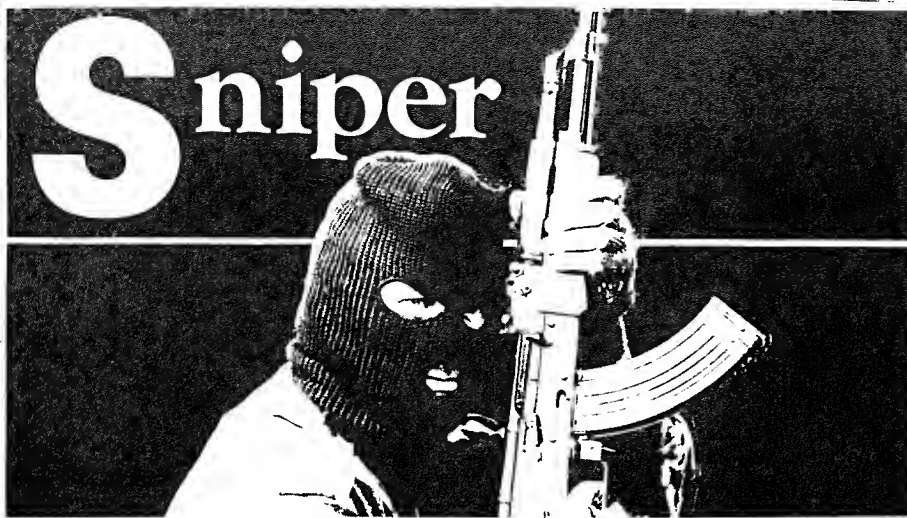
This is another point where anarchist revolutionaries today might profitably learn from Di Giovanni's example. Particularly as *Freedom*, *La Protesta's* equivalent in Britain defies the impossible by getting worse each issue. Shooting it's editors would be a bit excessive. Given the relative political significance and seriousness of the one paper as against the other spitting on them would be about the mark. Some might feel this was too much effort — however the example of Di Giovanni also shows that revolutionaries fail to deal with reaction in their own ranks at their peril . . .

C.O. Jones





# Sniper



## The One That Got Away

Wandering neo-Nazi Odfried Hepp, whose career at the centre of fascist terrorism in West Germany and France displays a remarkable ability to remain on the loose for one so 'wanted' whilst everyone around him get their collars felt, was finally arrested in Paris on 10th April. His capture was not announced in Germany however (where he has repeatedly walked away from serious terrorist cases with barely a smack on the wrist), until one week later. According to a report on French TV, Hepp was in the company of Mohammed Ghadban, a Tunisian and member of the *Front Liberation Palastienne*, whilst entering a clandestine address used as a centre of operations by the FARL (*Fraction Armee Revolutionnaire Libanaise*). The house had apparently been watched by the DST (French counter-espionage) in connection with Georges Ibrahim Adballah, the chief of FARL in Western Europe, who was arrested in Lyon on 18th October, 1984.

West German authorities are requesting Hepp's extradition on charges of attempted murder but pending extradition he has already been charged on 15th April with possession of firearms and holding false papers. Investigations are continuing into the bomb attack on the Beaubourg-Rivoli cinema during the Jewish Film Festival, and on Marks & Spencers. Hepp is suspected of involvement in both of these attacks. The DST is also convinced that Hepp and Walter Kexel (who was arrested in February 1983 at the Dorset home of Ian Souter-Clarence) were involved in the attack on the Jewish restaurant Goldenberg in Rue Rossier on 9th August, 1982, which left six dead and 22 injured. Kexel hanged himself in prison in March this year after being sentenced to 14 years for a series of bomb attacks on US servicemen in the Frankfurt area, in which Hepp is also accused of participation (See *Anarchy 36: The Frankfurt Bombings — Setting The Record Straight*). These were attributed at first to the RZ and the RAF,

and only later were the attackers sought and found in right-wing circles.

At the time of Hepp's arrest, the French press talked of an alliance between left and right-wing terrorists; *Figaro* saying that they shared information and weapons, and often helped each other in actions. Two days later this information was seen to be false as news emerged that Ghadban was probably arrested getting off a plane at Paris-Roissy. No connection between Hepp and FARL could be established.



Odfried Hepp

*Le Monde* printed a police report on 10th January, 1985, which states that the German neo-Nazi Andreas Hagen had planned a meeting in France with Hepp and another neo-Nazi, Gerhard Foppe. This leaves doubts that Hepp was arrested 'by chance' in connection with Ghadban and the FARL address. Despite the evidence that DST information at the time of Hepp's arrest was false, the idea of an international terrorist conspiracy acting in the pay of foreign powers continues to gain ground in France: *Le Monde* saying that DST investigations must not stop with the arrest of Hepp, but must look into connections between the neo-Nazis, FARL, and other groups like the RAF, *Action Directe*, and the Belgian *Fighting Communist Cells* (CCC).

Paris is apparently becoming a centre of neo-Nazi operations. Kexel, Hepp, and Fraas got the material for their car-bombs there. In June 1981, Kurt Wolfgram and Klaus-Ludwig Uhl (at the time leaders of the NSDAP/AO in Europe) founded the *Kommando Omega*. And Michael Kuhnen set up a bureau there which keeps up contact with other Nazis in West Germany.

The problem for the West German government, who have not been noticeably keen on keeping hold of the roving Hepp when he has been in their clutches in the past, is that he is not under arrest awaiting extradition, but pending legal proceedings against him in France. It remains to be seen whether the French authorities give precedence to this case or not. If extradited, Hepp's evidence would be important for several trials of neo-Nazis which have taken place recently. His testimony would be decisive in the proceedings against Fraas, Blasche, Tillman, and Sporleder, which are awaiting appeal. It remains to be seen, also, whether Hepp's Houdini-like qualities desert him at last, or whether he rats on his former comrades and walks free once more.

## Undesirable Meddler

Amongst the battery of 'experts' on international terrorism wheeled onto British television recently to comment on the hijacking of the TWA airliner to Beirut was an American pundit from the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a well-known CIA think-tank: *Michael Ledeen*.

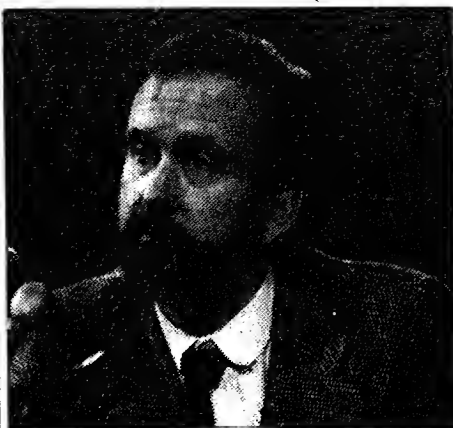
During the 1970's Ledeen worked in Italy as a 'journalist' on the right-wing Milan newspaper *Il Giornale*. Together with the hideous Claire Sterling, he collaborated on several articles dealing with the Red Menace in Italy, alleging Soviet aid for the Italian Left, as part of a US financed campaign aimed at limiting the growing power of the Italian Communist Party during the 1976 elections. And he was later, again with Sterling, and fellow CSIS 'expert' on terrorism Paul

Henze (ex-CIA Chief of Station in Turkey), one of the principal figures in the invention and media manipulation of the 'Bulgarian connection' in the case of Turkish *Grey Wolf*, Mehmet Ali Agca (arrested for the shooting of the Pope in Rome in 1981), which led directly to the arrest and trial of Bulgarian airlines representative Sergei Antonov.

Ledeen's contacts in Italy were surprising for a simple 'journalist'. "He had access to everybody", says an Italian journalist. Whilst in Italy Ledeen became a friend and collaborator of Francesco Pazienza, a business consultant and lobbyist of the murdered banker Roberto Calvi. Pazienza boasted of his strong connections with intelligence agencies and other centres of power, and maintained close links with the Mafia, key members of the controversial Masonic Lodge P2, and the Italian military intelligence service SISMI. Both he and Ledeen were close friends of the head of P2, Licio Gelli. And it was Pazienza, allegedly, who provided his private yacht to help in Gelli's escape from prison in Switzerland on the eve of his extradition to Italy. Coincidentally, Pazienza was also the person who introduced the ill-fated Calvi to Flavio Carboni — the last man to see Calvi alive.

Michael Ledeen's career has profited from a long association with General Alexander Haig, who served on the Nixon Administration, and later became commander of NATO forces in Europe. Haig's tenure in the post coincided with US efforts against Eurocommunism and Gelli's recruitment of intelligence and military chiefs into P2. After Reagan was elected President in 1980 Haig was appointed Secretary of State, and Ledeen was brought into the State Department as one of Haig's advisors.

According to the testimony of former Italian intelligence officer Federico D'Amato to the official commission of inquiry into the activities of P2, Ledeen was a US intelligence agent during the time he posed as a 'journalist' in Italy. D'Amato's testimony also alleges that it was Ledeen and Pazienza who were behind the 'Billygate' scandal at the time that Reagan was running against President Carter in the November 1980 presidential elections. Carter's brother, Billy, was invited to Libya and met Colonel Gaddafi during the run-up to the campaign. Ledeen seized on this opportunity to write a number of articles reporting that Billy Carter had met Palestinian guerrilla leaders Yassir Arafat and George Habash of the PFLP during his Libyan trip. The disclosures severely damaged President Carter's chances for re-election. Reagan won. The articles appeared in the *New Republic* in the US and two European magazines owned by Sir James Goldsmith, the short-lived *NOW* in Britain, and *L'Express* in



Michael Ledeen (above) and F. Pazienza.



France. D'Amato told the P2 commission that it was Pazienza who had helped Ledeen collect the damaging information. (1)

The media manipulation of the 'Billygate' affair provided a model of how someone could be set up, using the power available to US and Italian agents, and was later followed to great effect in the manufacture of the 'Bulgarian connection' after the shooting of the Pope. At the time of the attack on the Pope, SISMI was headed by another mutual friend (and P2 member) of Ledeen and Pazienza, General Guiseppe Santovito. Pazienza and Ledeen enjoyed considerable powers whilst Santovito headed SISMI. They are said to have been leading-lights in a small group of secret service 'plumbers' known as 'Super S', composed of P2 members using SISMI resources and an answerable only to Santovito. It was perhaps through 'Super S' that the successful 'Billygate' operation was conceived and executed.

Now a contract consultant on 'Terrorism' to the Pentagon and the State Department, Ledeen has been widely reported to have been put in charge of the captured Grenada papers, which are slowly and selectively being released (perhaps interspersed with forgeries) by the US government.

On 5 August, 1984, a report in the Italian magazine *L'Espresso*, focussing on the investigations of the parliamentary oversight committee for the secret services, and in particular, interviews with

Vincenzo Parisi (the new head of SISDE, the Italian security service) and Admiral Fulvio Martini (the new boss of SISMI), voiced some interesting complaints about the activities in Italy of Ledeen and the US government.

Parisi was up-dating the Italian parliament on the continuing investigation into the Bologna bombing and the hunt for Stefano Delle Chiaie. He referred to the "nearly legendary inability to capture him", and mentioned that Delle Chiaie travelled throughout the Western Hemisphere undisturbed. He had, Parisi said, powerful protection. "Who", someone asked, "a superpower?" Parisi replied diplomatically that the US secret service was giving the Italians "insufficient" help.

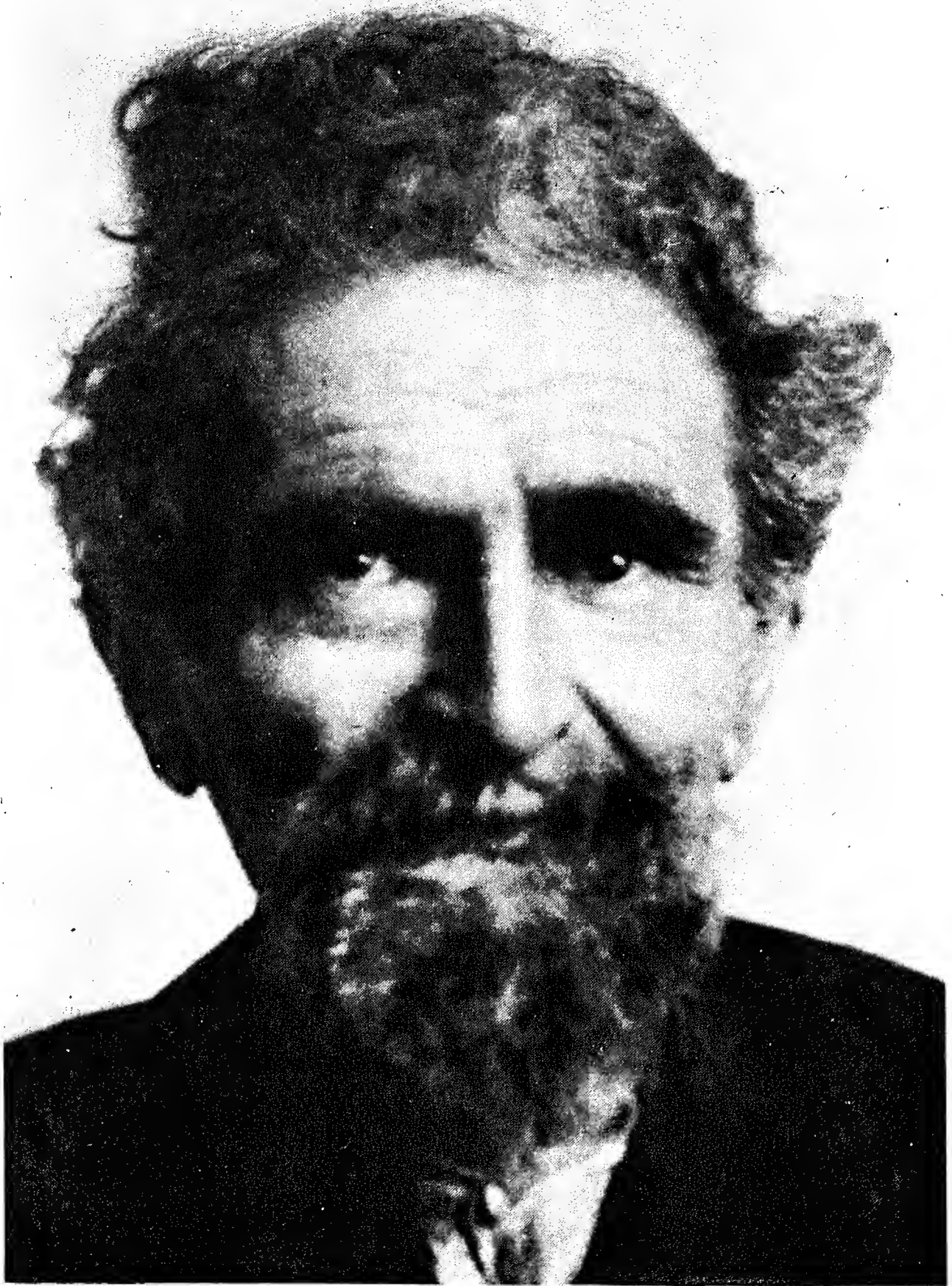
Admiral Martini's remarks to the oversight committee were less diplomatic. In an attempt to convince the committee of the the vigor and independence he had brought to SISMI in his first three months in office, he said that he had informed the appropriate authorities of a person who should not come back to Italy — someone who could be called an "undesirable" but was really, he stressed, a "meddler". He concluded that the US citizen he did not want to see return to Italy again was *Michael Ledeen*.

How interesting, in view of the hoo-haw in the Western media over the 'Bulgarian connection', and more recently the Shiite hijacking in Beirut, that when one allied intelligence agency complains that the US was letting the world's 'most-wanted' terrorist, Stefano Delle Chiaie, operate unmolested in this hemisphere, and the head of another allied intelligence agency complains that a US government official is an undesirable meddler who should be banned from his country, not a word of it creeps into Ledeen's contributions to the US and British media as an 'expert' on terrorism!

#### Footnotes

(1) Francesco Pazienza is believed to have been living in the US since the spring of 1982. In late 1983 and early 1984, four warrants were issued for his arrest in Italy. He was accused of fraudulent bankruptcy (for receiving funds from Calvi's Banco Ambrosiano); criminal association (for links with organised crime); revealing state secrets; and three counts of extortion. One involved him (in late 1981) allegedly hiring a gangster to fire pistol shots on at the office window of banker Roberto Rosone, to intimidate him into the granting of a 'loan'.

(2) An unconfirmed report in the French anti-fascist magazine *Article 31*, in April 1985, claimed that Stefano Delle Chiaie and Albert Spaggiari (ex-OAS terrorist, and well-known fascist activist, wanted in France for the spectacular \$ 10m. robbery of the Societe General Bank in Nice, who escaped from police custody in 1977) both breezed into Barcelona together on 2 February this year to attend the wedding of fellow fascist Alberto Royenla. Delle Chiaie is still wanted in Spain in connection with the discovery in 1977 of a clandestine arms factory in Madrid's Calle Pelaio, run by Mariano Sanchez Corvisa (leader of the *Guerillas of Christ the King*, notorious during the 1970's, for their officially sanctioned 'dirty war' against ETA members and sympathisers).



*"...the oppressed are always in a state of legitimate self defence, and have always the right to attack the oppressors."*  
(Errico Malatesta: *Anarchists Have Forgotten Their Principles*, *Freedom*, November 1914).

# REAGAN

The wimps want his  
Nicaraguan policy to fail. But  
they made one mistake.

They forgot they were  
dealing with Ronbo.



# RONBO

**MORE BLOOD PART II**

No Congress, no law, no Sandinista can stop him.